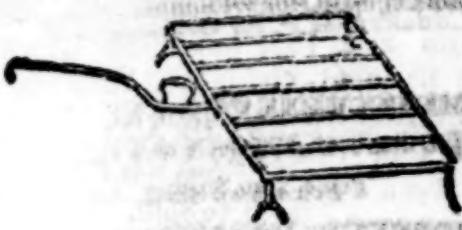


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## POPAY.

*Bolt court, 15. August, 1833.*

This affair is now come to a close. The minutes of evidence, taken before the committee, together with the report of the committee, are now before the House of Commons, and before the public, any man of whom has a right to put into print the whole, or any part, of these minutes, or of this report. It is impossible for me to explain the hole in this work of mine. It consists of a hundred and eighty-two folio pages, exclusive of the report and the petition on which the committee was founded. I will publish the whole of the evidence by degrees, week after week, as I have room, beginning with part of the *Register* of next week; but in the meanwhile, I wish to lay before the public, a sort of summing up of the whole; and that I shall do under the name and form of a report, such as I would have laid before the House, if I could have had my wish. I am not presumptuous enough to say, at my judgment, in this respect, or any respect, ought to be put in competition with that of twenty other gentlemen, each of whom of much greater experience than I can pretend to; but, having laid before my readers the report which they agreed on, I have a clear right to lay before those same readers, such a report as it appeared to be proper to make, asking no one to give a preference to that which, in my judgment, would have been proper. Besides, I lay the minutes of evidence

before my readers; or shall do it as fast as I can. I request them to read with attention the whole of the evidence as fast as they get it; and, in the meanwhile, I give, in the summing up, not my *reasonings*; not my *own observations*; not any commentary, interpretation, or construction; but I fairly take extracts from the evidence itself, leaving every reader to form his own judgment upon that evidence.

I repeat here that which I have said with regard to this affair from the beginning to the end; namely, that I have a rooted hatred to this police establishment; that I hate it, because it is of *foreign* growth, and because it is *French*; that I hate it because it really tears up the government; that good-natured government, that gentle, that commanding, that neighbourly and friendly government, under which I was born, and under which my forefathers lived. Whether this hatred be well or ill founded, it is real, and it must have an influence on my mind in every thing relating to this matter. Most of the other gentlemen of the committee might be under the influence of no such prejudice: they might, on the contrary, deem this establishment necessary to the peace of the metropolis, although they might lament that necessity. This great difference in the prevailing bent of our minds, would naturally produce a difference equally great in the conclusions to which we should come. While, therefore, I impute not the smallest degree of blame to those who differ from me in regard to those conclusions, I only claim the right of laying my own before the public, through the same channel that I have already laid theirs. There is this little difference on my side. The other members of the committee were members of other committees at the same time. Sir ROBERT PEEL, for instance, and Mr. ESTCOURT, were, I believe, each of them, members of two, or three or four, other committees, that were all sitting at the

same hours that our committee was, or pretty nearly the same. This was more or less the case with every member of the committee except myself. Even the chairman was obliged to be absent twice; a part of two of the sittings. Therefore, the other members could not pay that attention to the matter which I did; for, I was never absent from any one sitting, and never one minute out of the room during one sitting. I was called away by none of those duties which called other members away; and, if I neglected my duty in this case, I should have justly exposed myself to the censure of the people at large, and, particularly of the petitioners. Some of the members of the committee might *wish*, and very laudably wish, the result to be different from what it was; but, I am bound to say, that I perceived in no one any desire whatsoever, to stifle the truth, or to do any thing not consistent with the strictest impartiality. I differed with the majority upon the subject of printing in an appendix to the report, the written reports of POPAY; but, I impute to them no improper motive for their differing in opinion with me upon this point; and, in conclusion of this introduction, I beg my readers to receive from me an assurance, that everything was fair, from the beginning to the end on the part of this whole committee; and I really deem it one of the most fortunate circumstances of my life-time, that the petitioners deemed me a person fit to be intrusted with their petition. I have now only to add the names of the petitioners, with this observation, that I trust, that the people will here see a proof of the *value of the right of petition*; and, that they will never suffer their indignation and disgust, however natural, to induce them to be slack in exercising this invaluable right. Sometimes petitions seem to be disregarded; but they have always their weight, if their contents be true, and their prayers reasonable. *Disgust* is but too frequently a natural feeling in our present situation; but, whenever *disgust* is pleaded as a ground for *inaction*, it is not disgust in reality, but a *want of public spirit*, which, how-

ever, thank God, is not yet extinguished in England; but which is still felt to that extent which will, in due time, and by peaceable means, make a suitable impression on those who govern, and produce, in the end, a restoration of that freedom and that happiness which so much national virtue and such matchless industry so well deserve. The petitioners in this case, were all, except one, working men; and that one a gentleman of real property, become such by a life of industry and care. The first thing that I endeavoured to ascertain was, whether the petitioners *got their bread by the sweat of their brow*; and, having ascertained that fact, I was not at all afraid to rely upon their word. A set of men more frank, more undisguised, more free to confess, even their own indiscretions (if they might be called such), I never saw in my life; and I believe that the whole of the committee must have entertained the same opinion of their character and conduct. Their names and places of abode were as follows:

JAMES BURRELL BROWN, shoemaker, No. 9, East-street, Walworth.

JAMES PRICE, shoemaker, No. 2, Park-place, Walworth.

FREDERICK YOUNG, Braid-maker, No. 2, Richmond-place, East-street, Walworth.

JOHN SIMPSON, cooper, &c., Elm Cottage, Camberwell.

SHEM SHELLEY, carpenter, George-street, Camberwell.

THOMAS DEAN, clerk, Waterloo-street, Hour Glass-lane, Walworth-common.

WILLIAM WOODFORD, carpenter, No. 1, George-street, Camberwell.

HENRY HERSEE, builder, East-street, Walworth.

WILLIAM RUSSELL COLLINS, chair-maker, No. 65, Brandon-street, Walworth.

JOHN FREDERICK YOUNG, copper-smith, No. 2, Richmond-street, East-street, Walworth.

## REPORT.

THE select committee, appointed to inquire into the matter of the petition of Frederick Young and others, of Walworth and Camberwell, complaining that policemen are employed as spies, and praying that the people may not be taxed to maintain those spies, have, upon the said matter, agreed to the following Report.

**Paragraph 1.** Your committee, which was appointed by the House on the 1. of July, having met on the 3. and chosen a chairman and summoned most of the petitioners to appear as witnesses, met again on the 5. and proceeded in the inquiry, and again for the same purpose on the 8. 10. 12. 17. 19. 22. and 23; on which last day they concluded their examination of the witnesses; and, as the foundation of the whole of the proceedings, your committee have first to state, that the petition, into the matter of which they were appointed to inquire, was in the following words, to wit:

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned inhabitants of Camberwell and Walworth, being members of a Political Union in those villages,

Humbly sheweth,

That one William S. Popay became a member of their union about fifteen months ago; that he attended the meetings of the union, which was called a Class of the National Political Union of the Working Classes; that he used to urge the members of the union to use stronger language than they did in their resolutions and other papers, which he sometimes altered with his own pen, in order to introduce such stronger language; that in his conversation with one of your petitioners particularly, he railed against the Government, damned the Ministers for villains, and said he would expel them from the earth; that he told one of your petitioners that he should like to establish a shooting gallery, and wanted some of them to learn the use of the broad-sword, and did give one lesson of the broad-sword to one of your petitioners; that he subscribed towards the expense of providing a banner; that he subscribed for music at a meeting of the working classes at Kennington Common, held for the purpose of petitioning against the flogging of soldiers; that he attended and took an active part in a procession of the working-

classes to Copenhagen House in July last, to celebrate the anniversary of the French revolution, when he walked among the foremost, arm-in-arm with one of your petitioners, who was a member of the union; that in or about the month of August last he went with one of your petitioners and other persons to visit a class of the Political Union at Richmond, when he paid out of his own pocket the expenses of the day, making the division and settlement at night, though the day before he had represented himself to this petitioner as so poor as not to have the means of getting food for his family; that he used to take notes of the speeches made at the divers meetings; that in the last autumn he walked in procession with one of your petitioners at the funeral of Thos. Hardy, and that while the procession was moving on, this your petitioner perceiving several men whom he knew to be policemen disguised in private clothes, he noticed this with marks of indignation, to Popay, who told him to "hush," and used every effort to restrain him from speaking aloud; that while the oration was making over the grave Popay placed himself on a tomb-stone, and took notes of what was said; that he constantly represented himself as in a state of great poverty and misery, and thereby got himself and his wife into the houses of some of your petitioners, and received food and drink and entertainment from them; that he represented himself as having been deprived of his due by some persons in authority, and as having been brought to misery from such cause, and his tales of woe to some of your petitioners and their wives were such as to bring tears in their eyes; that he generally carried a bag or portfolio with him, representing himself as an unfortunate person, picking up his bread by miniature and landscape drawing or painting; that he enrolled himself in the union class under the name, first, of A. B., and afterwards under the name of "Pearce," alleging that he declined using his real name, lest his respectable connexions, amongst whom he named Alderman Wilson, might be offended if they knew that he belonged to a political union; that all this time, wholly unknown to your petitioners, he belonged to the "police," having entered that service about twenty-two months ago; that he wore the uniform for about four or five months, and was stationed on what is called a "beat," at Brixton; that at the end of those four or five months, or thereabouts, he ceased to wear the uniform; that he was further promoted about a month ago to be a deputy-inspector, and is now acting as such at Park House, Park-place, Walworth; that he was amongst the people at Calthorpe-street meeting, dressed in common private clothes, and was there seen and spoken to by one of your petitioners; that in or about the month of February last, some of your petitioners had heard that he belonged to the police; that they found him at the house of one of your petitioners, and charged him with the fact, which he most positively and re-



mently denied to be true ; that G. Furzey was the man who first made the discovery of this important fact, and that this same George Furzey went, along with two others of your petitioners and preferred the charge against him. That your petitioners are men faithful to their allegiance, and laborious in their lives ; that they contemplate with indignation the fact that they are compelled to pay for the maintenance of spies, under pretence of their being persons employed for the preservation of the peace, and the protection of their property and their lives ; while the business of this man evidently was to delude the thoughtless into the commission of crimes, to bring misery upon their wives and families, and themselves to death ignominious. That some of your petitioners have frequently seen those whom they knew to be policemen disguised in clothing of various descriptions ; sometimes in the garb of gentlemen, sometimes in that of tradesmen or artizans, sometimes in sailors' jackets, and sometimes in ploughmen's frocks. That thus feeling themselves living amongst spies seeking their lives, and sorely feeling the taxes heaped upon them for the maintenance of those spies, they make this appeal to your honourable House, and implore you to be pleased to make inquiry into the matter, being willing and ready to come forward with proof of all the facts that they have stated ; and beg leave to express at the same time an anxious hope that the result of such inquiry will be some act of your honourable House to afford them and their families and fellow-subjects protection against such wrongs and such perils for the future.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

**Par. 2.** Your committee, deeply impressed with the importance of the subject, an investigation of which has been committed to their charge, and knowing the anxiety of the House to do justice at all times, and, in this particular case to give contentment to the people, and to remove from their minds all cause of alarm ; and, considering, moreover, the effect which the result of this inquiry may probably have in securing willing obedience to the laws in the metropolis and in exciting, throughout the kingdom, confidence in the House, and respect for his Majesty's Government ; your committee, thus impressed with a sense of the duties imposed upon them, have spared neither time nor attention in their endeavours fully to discharge those duties.

**Par. 3.** To this end your committee have summoned to appear before them, as witnesses, nine out of ten of the petitioners ; namely, Frederick B. Young,

John B. Young, John Simpson, Shem Shelley, William Woodford, Henry Hersee, William R. Collins, James B. Brown, and James Price ; and, as having been pointed out by these petitioners to give evidence in support of their allegations, Michael M'Henry, Charles Parr, Jonathan Hawkins, George Hawkins, William H. Sturges, James Parker, and George Fortzer ; and, in behalf of the police, your committee have received the evidence of William S. Popay, of the superintendent, Andrew M'Lean, of the police commissioners, Charles Rowan, and Richard Mayne, and of Mr. Phillips, Under Secretary of State for the Home Department. Besides this oral testimony, your committee have caused to be laid before them, the written reports, forty-nine in number, made by Popay to the superintendent M'Lean, communicated by him to the commissioners, submitted by the commissioners to the Secretary of State, and by them, delivered to your committee, along with three other written reports from officers of the police appertaining to districts in Middlesex.

**Par. 4.** The petition above recited, contains matter which your committee conceive may be conveniently considered under eighteen distinct heads, the sixteen first of which, relating more especially to Popay and to the manner of his being employed, and the two last, to complaints of a more general character, and relating to things of more extensive effect ; each head containing a distinct allegation, and the allegations being as follows :

- I. That, during nearly twelve months, William S. Popay, while being a policeman, went about in a dress different from that of the police, and got acquainted with the petitioners as being not at all connected with the police.
- II. That, at the end of about a year, and sometime in the month of February last, he was discovered and detected by some of the petitioners, amongst whom was George Furzey (lately tried and acquitted at the Old Bailey), the man who first made the charge ; and that

Popay denied the fact, in the presence of five of the petitioners.

II. That, very shortly after this his detection, he ceased to wear private clothes; that is to say, clothes such as are worn by persons in private life; that he now openly resumed the policeman's uniform, and that he was almost immediately promoted to be a clerk, and very soon after to be a deputy-inspector, or sergeant.

IV. That, during the above-mentioned space of nearly a year, he became, and continued to be, a member of the National Political Union of the Working Classes, and that he attended their meetings accordingly.

V. That he was enrolled in their lists, first under the name of A. B. and afterwards under the name of Pearce; and he gave as a reason for such fictitious enrolment, that, by the use of his own name in the lists, he might possibly give offence to his respectable connexions, amongst whom he mentioned Mr. Alderman Wilson.

VI. That, the better to disguise his real calling, he pretended to get his living by miniature painting or drawing of landscapes; and that he carried a port-folio, or sometimes a bag, about with him, under that pretence.

VII. That, he took a zealous part in all the proceedings of the union, and that he walked arm-in-arm with one of the petitioners, in a procession to Copenhagen-house in the month of July, 1832, to celebrate the anniversary of the last French Revolution; and that, to show his joy on account of the event, he was not behind the most zealous.

II. That, sometime after the procession to Copenhagen-house, he walked arm-in-arm in the procession to Hardy's funeral; and that he stood upon a tomb-stone at the interment, and took notes of Mr. Thelwall's oration.

That he suggested to one of the petitioners, that it would be desirous to establish a shooting-gallery, and wanted to teach some of them the broad-sword exercise, and gave a lesson to one of them.

X. That he subscribed towards a banner and music for the use of the union, and went with the union to Kennington-common, to petition against the flogging of soldiers.

XI. That, in the month of August last, he went with one of the petitioners and other persons to visit a class of the Political Union at Richmond, when he paid out of his own pocket the whole of the expenses of the party for the day, making the division and settlement at night, though the day before he represented himself to one of the petitioners as so poor as not to have the means of getting food for his family.

XII. That he used to take notes of speeches made at the meetings of the Union.

XIII. That he used to urge the members of the union to use stronger language than they did in their resolutions and other papers, which he sometimes altered with his own pen, in order to introduce such stronger language.

XIV. That in his conversation with one of the petitioners in particular, he railed against the Government, damned the Ministers for villains, and said he would expel them from the earth.

XV. That he constantly represented himself as in a state of great poverty and misery, and thereby got himself and his wife into the houses of some of the petitioners, and received food and drink and entertainment from them, representing himself at the same time as having been deprived of his bread by some persons in authority.

XVI. That he was amongst the people at the Calthorpe-street Meeting, and was there seen and spoken to by one of the petitioners; and that he was then dressed in private clothes.

**XVII.** That the petitioners feel that they live amongst spies, seeking their lives.

**XVIII.** That the petitioners are compelled to pay for the maintenance of those spies, under the pretence that they are employed for the protection of their property and their lives.

**Par. 5.** Your committee having thus stated the allegations contained in the petition, would proceed, now, to lay before the House a summary of the evidence in support of each allegation, and also of that which was adduced on the other side; but, before they enter upon this summary, they have to observe that, to the full extent of their power, they granted to Popay every indulgence and advantage; that a manuscript copy of the evidence of the petitioners was permitted to be furnished to the office of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, even before that evidence was printed for the use of the members of the committee, and that Popay himself had been informed of the nature of this evidence previous to his coming before the committee; that the petitioners had given their evidence on the 5. and on the 8.; that Popay came before the committee, for the first time, on the 10., and that it appears, from the following evidence, given by him, on that day, that he had been with Commissioner Mayne on the 9., and had conversed with him, and had been questioned and cautioned by him relative to the inquiry before the committee, and particularly as to the pistol, which had not been mentioned in the petition, and only in the evidence, a copy of which had been sent to the Secretary of State.

**1704.** Since this petition has been presented to the House by Mr. Cobbett, have you had any conversation with Mr. M'Lean, your superintendent, with reference to the circumstances detailed in the petition, before to-day? —I have repeatedly called on Mr. M'Lean, in order to induce the commissioners to take some active steps towards the redeeming of my character; I called on him when the letter appeared in the *True Sun*, for the commissioners to allow me to prosecute. I have called on Mr. M'Lean to know what was to be done. I drew out a string of questions, which I sub-

mitted to the commissioners last Monday week, begging that they might be submitted to you, and that you would put these questions to the witnesses here to elucidate the truth. I think I have seen the commissioners three times. I was directed not to request an interview with the commissioners at this particular time, for fear it should be whispered that there was any collusion going forward.

1705. Did you leave those questions with the commissioners? —Yes.

1706. I am to understand, that you have had no conversation with Mr. M'Lean, with reference to the evidence you are now giving? —Not with respect to the evidence, decidedly not.

1707. Neither has he attempted, directly or indirectly, to influence you in the evidence you are giving? —Most clearly not.

1708. Have you seen the commissioners lately? —Yes.

1709. When? —I saw Mr. Mayne last night.

1710. What passed? —On the subject of my general defence respecting my character, whether I should send down to Yarmouth to bring up persons to come before this committee to testify of my former conduct; that I was incapable of such conduct as I am charged with by the petition.

1711. Did you see Mr. Mayne at your own desire, or by his order, last night? —By his own order. I had repeatedly asked permission to see Mr. Mayne on the subject, that I might be better prepared for what was going forward.

1712. Tell us what Mr. Mayne said with reference to the petition, or any matter connected with it? —My application to see Mr. Mayne was, that I might adopt some plan to appear in the light I have formerly appeared in the eyes of the world.

1713. What passed between you and Mr. Mayne last night, as to the petition, and the evidence you are giving? —As to the evidence I am giving, nothing, not a word passed, only in the general way of directing me to keep my spirits up, and not suffer my nerves to be depressed, as I have been unfortunately much hurt during the time I have been so libelled, and not a word spoken in my defence. To appear before you and speak in the same way as I was doing to him; asking me the real state of the case; if I had told any thing that was untrue as to the story of the pistol; advising me, if I had committed myself in any way, that I would tell him candidly and openly of it; assuring me that it was of no use disquising the matter.

**Par. 6.** On the 12. Popay came before the committee again, when, as appears from the following, he had seen and read all the evidence.

1849. Have you seen the evidence given by the other witnesses? —I have.

1850. You have seen it all through? —I have read it all through carefully.

1851. Have you anything to suggest upon that, as to calling any of the parties or otherwise before the committee? — I must beg that they, each and all of them, are called, if you please.

Par. 7. On this occasion Popay was asked whether he wished to call any witnesses, and he answered as follows:

1857. Do you wish to call any witnesses? —

I do

1859. Will you give in their names? — I beg you will allow me time for that purpose. I can produce witnesses that are of very essential consequence to this case.

1860. Do I understand that you could produce essential witnesses to this case, if you have a delay? — Yes, to the case generally.

1861. What delay do you ask for? — Could you give me a week.

1862. I presume that all the witnesses relating to the case, having any knowledge of the circumstances into which the committee is inquiring, live within Walworth or Camberwell? — Yes, with the exception of those I would call to my own private character; all the rest are living within the neighbourhood.

1863. Can you tell us of any names at present that occur to you? — I have had communication with a gentleman who is, I believe, well known to two of the gentlemen present, and he is of opinion that one of the persons who now impeach my character, is deranged; I should wish to bring proof to that fact.

1864. What is the shortest time within which you could prepare yourself to give the list of witnesses; do you think by Tuesday? — The evidence is very voluminous. Many of the cases it would be very difficult for me to disprove, almost impossible to disprove; I want to look over them with care and caution; they are false, decidedly false.

1868. Do you presume that your friend will come forward for you voluntarily? — I have no friends; I have been living unfortunately among persons to whom I am a stranger; I must draw the facts of this case from the lips of my opponents.

1869. You are to call such persons as you think proper; and if they will not come voluntarily, you will give a list of their names, and they will be summoned?

Par. 8. Your committee have here to state that, in order to give him an opportunity of bringing forward his witnesses, they resolved to adjourn from this day, Friday the 12. to Wednesday the 17., thus giving him five days for the purpose of determining as to who should be his witnesses; that he never did bring any witness, and never did apply to have any one summoned as a witness from first to last; that, on this same Friday, the 12., he requested the committee to permit him

to have a barrister to cross-examine the witnesses who had come against him; that he was (after the committee had consulted on the subject) informed by the chairman, that he would be allowed to have a barrister for that purpose; but that he never brought any barrister before the committee.

Par. 9. Your committee having thus given an account of these preliminary matters, now proceed to lay before the House that summary of the evidence, of which they have spoken in paragraph 5 of this their report, taking the allegations one by one, in the order in which they stand under paragraph 4, and stating the evidence in the manner described in paragraph 5.

#### ALLEGATION I.

Par. 10. This allegation is, as far as relates to Popay's wearing private clothes and his getting acquainted with the petitioners by that means, asserted by all the nine of them who have been called, to be true; and this is also asserted by the seven other witnesses, named above, as having been brought by the petitioners to sustain their allegations. The fact is also acknowledged by Popay himself and by M'Lean, the superintendent of the division P, to which Popay belonged, thus:

1327. [To Popay]. Is your general order that you shall at all times appear out of doors in your uniform, except you have orders to the contrary? — I believe I have stated the very words used, that we shall at all times appear in our police uniform.

1328. But if you have instructions to the contrary, you appear in other sort of clothes? — Yes

1329. By other sort of clothes, do you mean plain clothes? — Yes, that is what I suppose is meant.

1330. A plain black or blue coat, or something of that sort? — Yes.

1331. Have you appeared in any thing else but plain clothes, such as any thing of disguise, as a sailor's dress, or a frock, or any thing of that sort? — I certainly never did; nor did I ever see any one so disguised since I belonged to the force.

1332. You have had on a plain dress, as any other individual would wear? — Yes, exactly so.

1333. When did you begin to wear a different dress from the police dress? — After I had been removed into the Walworth detachment; I think it was but a few days, when I

received directions to go to a certain meeting in private clothes.

1334. Who did you receive those directions from?—Mr. M'Lean, the superintendent of the division.

1098. [To M'Lean]. Have you ever appointed Popay to discharge his duty in plain clothes?—I have.

1099. For what purposes?—First, I have employed him to attend political unions, and to look after characters suspected of intent to commit felony.

Par. 11. With regard to that part of this allegation which relates to the length of time, during which Popay was thus employed, M'Lean says (question 1068) that he entered the police in September, 1831; that he at first was on duty at Streatham and Brixton (1074); that he was removed to the East-lane station in April 1832 (1076); that he was promoted to be sergeant in March, 1833; and all the petitioners and other witnesses, in their evidence, make the period of his being seen in plain clothes to extend over nine or ten months, beginning with the spring of 1832.

#### ALLEGATION II.

Par. 12. This allegation, which is made and supported by the evidence of James Brown (114 to 126, inclusive), by that of F. B. Young (561 and 566 to 569, inclusive), and by John Simpson (722); and is acknowledged to be true by Popay himself in the following extract from his evidence.

1375. How long did you continue to visit with your wife at Young's?—Up to the time at which I was clerk in Mr. M'Lean's office.

1376. D'd George Furzey, Simpson, and Thomas Dean, come and find you there on Sunday night, and accuse you of being a policeman?—They did.

1377. What did you say in answer to that?—I felt it necessary to suppress the knowledge of the fact, from knowing the persons whom I was with.

1378. How did you suppress a knowledge of the fact?—I cannot say that it was by positively denying it. It was by a stratagem: a few days before, Simpson and myself had had some warm words. I was not charged with being a policeman; but Thomas Dean asserted that he had some knowledge of me, having been a policeman at the same time that I was. In answer to it, I turned to Simpson, and charged him with having raised the report merely to injure me.

1379. Did you not go further; what else did you say; did you still continue to deny being a policeman?—I did.

1380. And you always associated with them as being an indifferent person, not connected with the police?—As an indifferent person and not connected with the police.

#### ALLEGATION III.

Par. 13. By examining the dates, the committee find that Popay began to wear the uniform clothes again, and that he was promoted to be a sergeant almost immediately. These facts appear in the following extracts from his evidence.

1393. I am asking you when you began to wear again the same clothes you wear now, after having left off those clothes?—At the time of becoming clerk in Mr. M'Lean's office.

1394. When was that?—The 3. of March.

1395. How long was that after Furzey charged you with being a policeman?—Very near the same time.

1396. How long after?—I really cannot tell; but there could be but a very few days. I was in Mr. M'Lean's office assisting to make up the books, as the clerk was about leaving, having obtained a situation in the Brazils; on his embarking I was appointed clerk in his stead: the few days that I was there setting the accounts square was the time when I was seen in Mr. M'Lean's office, and this conversation took place between Furzey and Simpson.

1397. It was just after that that you resumed the dress you now wear?—Just so.

1314. What rank are you in now?—A sergeant.

1315.—You were in the first place a private?—I was.

1316. When did you cease to be a private, and become something else?—I think in the month of March last.

1317. Is not every man who enters the police establishment police clerk or private?—I believe they are.

1318. Is there any rank between private and that of sergeant?—None.

1319. What is the difference in the pay?—The pay of a private is 19s.; the full pay of a sergeant is 1l. 2s. 6d.

Par. 14. Thus, then, it appears, from Popay's own evidence, that he was detected, and that he was charged by Furzey and others, late in the month of February; that he then began to wear the uniform clothes; and that, he was thereupon promoted so as to receive 1l. 2s. 6d. a week instead of the 19s. a week which he had received before.

#### ALLEGATION IV.

Par. 15. It appeared to your committee to be of the greatest possible im-

portance to ascertain, beyond all doubt, the truth or falsehood of this allegation; and, therefore, they spared no pains to come at a certainty as to the fact. And here they deem it necessary to describe to the House the constitution and arrangements of this Political Union of the Working Classes. It appears, as well from the written reports delivered in by Popay to M'Lean, and by him delivered to the commissioners, as from the evidence of the petitioners themselves, that this constitution and these arrangements are as follow: 1. That the title of the association is, "The National Political Union of the Working Classes;" 2nd. That the Central Committee or body of managers, meet at a place in Theobald's-road; 3rd. That the body, or the whole of the members of the association, divide themselves into classes, after the manner of the Wesleyan Methodists; 4th. That each class has, after the manner of those Methodists, what is called a "leader," who collects the contributions, pays the expenses, and manages the business of the class; 5th. That the class-meetings are confined to the members of the union, exclusively; but, two or more classes very frequently meet at some place, and then the meetings are called public meetings; and to these meetings any person whatever might be admitted. These divisions and these customs of the union are necessary to be kept in view, in order clearly to understand the evidence relative to the allegation, to which the committee is now endeavouring to draw the attention of the House, and which alleges, that Popay became, and continued to be, a member of this union, during the time before specified.

Par. 16. The whole of the petitioning witnesses asserted, most distinctly, that Popay was a member of the union; that he attended the meetings with more regularity than almost any other member; and that he was a member of great activity and usefulness. Popay, on his part, has positively denied this fact, as in the following manner:

1344. Were you instructed to go to political union meetings?—I was.

1345. Were you instructed to get to be a

member of them?—Certainly not; but I had a positive order to the contrary.

1346. Were you ever a member of one of them?—Never, never, Sir.

1347. Did you ever make any motion, or amend any resolution, or any thing of that sort at these meetings?—Certainly never. The resolutions which are usually discussed at those meetings I had attended, had been previously drawn out and written by some person in the committee or council of the union. They are then read from the chair, and discussed by the persons present at the meeting, those who belong to the class in the neighbourhood. There are itinerant speakers, men whose names are published, and who attend there for the purpose. I never, during any meeting at which I was present, to the best of my knowledge, saw a resolution altered or amended.

1348. Did you ever speak at any of these meetings?—Certainly not; certainly not.

1349. You were neither a member, nor spoke there?—Certainly not.

Par. 17. Being asked whether he ever saw any person but himself at their class-meeting; any persons who did not belong to the union, he answered, "It is difficult to say; I cannot name any of them." Then being asked, whether any one not a member could attend those class-meetings, he answered: "The meetings are always open."

Par 18. Your committee think it necessary, this evidence being so positive on both sides, to state to the House that, in a report of Popay, made to M'Lean, indorsed by Commissioner Mayne, and dated 30. July, 1832, he tells M'LEAN, that "*all their class meetings are strictly private.*"

Par. 19. This passage of his reports admitting of an interpretation which would confine it to the thirty-fourth class, it may not be wholly unnecessary to take an extract from his report of the 30. August, in which he gives a general description of the practice of the classes, and which is the more worthy of the attention of the House from its having been shown to Lord Melbourne, and from his lordship having written in pencil on the back of it (as was proved to your committee by Mr Phillips the Under Secretary of State). "This information is not unimportant, and should not be lost sight of." In the passage here alluded to, POPAY gives a sort of general description of the pro-

received directions to go to a certain meeting in private clothes.

1334. Who did you receive those directions from?—Mr. M'Lean, the superintendent of the division.

1098. [To M'Lean]. Have you ever appointed Popay to discharge his duty in plain clothes?—I have.

1099. For what purposes?—First, I have employed him to attend political unions, and to look after characters suspected of intent to commit felony.

Par. 11. With regard to that part of this allegation which relates to the length of time, during which Popay was thus employed, M'Lean says (question 1068) that he entered the police in September, 1831; that he at first was on duty at Streatham and Brixton (1074); that he was removed to the East-lane station in April 1832 (1076); that he was promoted to be sergeant in March, 1833; and all the petitioners and other witnesses, in their evidence, make the period of his being seen in plain clothes to extend over nine or ten months, beginning with the spring of 1832.

#### ALLEGATION II.

Par. 12. This allegation, which is made and supported by the evidence of James Brown (114 to 126, inclusive), by that of F. B. Young (561 and 566 to 569, inclusive), and by John Simpson (722); and is acknowledged to be true by Popay himself in the following extract from his evidence.

1375. How long did you continue to visit with your wife at Young's?—Up to the time at which I was clerk in Mr. M'Lean's office.

1376. D'd George Furzey, Simpson, and Thomas Dean, come and find you there on Sunday night, and accuse you of being a policeman?—They did.

1377. What did you say in answer to that?—I felt it necessary to suppress the knowledge of the fact, from knowing the persons whom I was with.

1378. How did you suppress a knowledge of the fact?—I cannot say that it was by positively denying it. It was by a stratagem: a few days before, Simpson and myself had had some warm words. I was not charged with being a policeman; but Thomas Dean asserted that he had some knowledge of me, having been a policeman at the same time that I was. In answer to it, I turned to Simpson, and charged him with having raised the report merely to injure me.

1379. Did you not go further; what else did you say; did you still continue to deny being a policeman?—I did.

1380. And you always associated with them as being an indifferent person, not connected with the police?—As an indifferent person and not connected with the police.

#### ALLEGATION III.

Par. 13. By examining the dates, the committee find that Popay began to wear the uniform clothes again, and that he was promoted to be a sergeant almost immediately. These facts appear in the following extracts from his evidence.

1393. I am asking you when you began to wear again the same clothes you wear now, after having left off those clothes?—At the time of becoming clerk in Mr. M'Lean's office.

1394. When was that?—The 3. of March.

1395. How long was that after Furzey charged you with being a policeman?—Very near the same time.

1396. How long after?—I really cannot tell; but there could be but a very few days. I was in Mr. M'Lean's office assisting to make up the books, as the clerk was about leaving, having obtained a situation in the Brazils; on his embarking I was appointed clerk in his stead: the few days that I was there setting the accounts square was the time when I was seen in Mr. M'Lean's office, and this conversation took place between Furzey and Simpson.

1397. It was just after that that you resumed the dress you now wear?—Just so.

1314. What rank are you in now?—A sergeant.

1315.—You were in the first place a private?—I was.

1316. When did you cease to be a private, and become something else?—I think in the month of March last.

1317. Is not every man who enters the police establishment police clerk or private?—I believe they are.

1318. Is there any rank between private and that of sergeant?—None.

1319. What is the difference in the pay?—The pay of a private is 19s.; the full pay of a sergeant is 17. 2s. 6d.

Par. 14. Thus, then, it appears, from Popay's own evidence, that he was detected, and that he was charged by Furzey and others, late in the month of February; that he then began to wear the uniform clothes; and that, he was thereupon promoted so as to receive 17. 2s. 6d. a week instead of the 19s. a week which he had received before.

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portance to ascertain, beyond all doubt, the truth or falsehood of this allegation; and, therefore, they spared no pains to come at a certainty as to the fact. And here they deem it necessary to describe to the House the constitution and arrangements of this Political Union of the Working Classes. It appears, as well from the written reports delivered in by Popay to M'Lean, and by him delivered to the commissioners, as from the evidence of the petitioners themselves, that this constitution and these arrangements are as follow: 1. That the title of the association is, "The National Political Union of the Working Classes;" 2nd. That the Central Committee or body of managers, meet at a place in Theobald's-road; 3rd. That the body, or the whole of the members of the association, divide themselves into classes, after the manner of the Wesleyan Methodists; 4th. That each class has, after the manner of those Methodists, what is called a "leader," who collects the contributions, pays the expenses, and manages the business of the class; 5th. That the class-meetings are confined to the members of the union, exclusively; but, two or more classes very frequently meet at some place, and then the meetings are called public meetings; and to these meetings any person whatever might be admitted. These divisions and these customs of the union are necessary to be kept in view, in order clearly to understand the evidence relative to the allegation, to which the committee is now endeavouring to draw the attention of the House, and which alleges, that Popay became, and continued to be, a member of this union, during the time before specified.

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ceedings in the classes, which description is in perfect correspondence with the report before mentioned relative to the thirty-fourth class.

**Par 20.** To this may be added, that of his written reports, eleven relate to the proceedings in class-meetings. But, after long endeavours to come at positive proof of his having been a member, over and above that proof which consisted of the repeated assertions of all the nine petitioning witnesses, Simpson, during his cross-examination by Popay, produced, as an instance of his perfect membership, the circumstance of his having on one occasion, actually been chairman of a class-meeting. This circumstance, if established in truth, appeared conclusive; and, therefore, the committee, as far as related to this important circumstance of membership, now proceeded to investigate that point. Popay most positively denied the fact, which was insisted on by Simpson with equal positiveness; when Shem Shelley, one of the petitioners, was called in, and when the examination, of which the following is an extract, took place:

2833. Upon any occasion, when you have been at meetings of political unions along with Popay, have you seen him in the chair as chairman?—Yes.

2834. Where was it?—At the Red Cap, and Duke of York too.

2835. When did you see him in the chair at the Red Cap?—I do not know the night it was exactly.

2836. As nearly as you can recollect?—I do not know the night that it was, but it can be ascertained; he has been appointed chairman.

2837. Was there a motion made that he should take the chair in the usual way?—Yes, by Mr. Simpson.

2838. Was the motion seconded?—Yes; I do not know who it was by; he took the chair.

2839. You are sure Mr. Simpson moved he should take the chair?—Yes; and every one of that opinion were to hold up their hands.

2840. Mr. Simpson said that?—Yes.

2841. Do you know the subject discussed?—No, I do not.

2842. Do you recollect what he said?—No; but I am sensible, sure of it; I can take my oath of it, and I dare say other people can swear it.

2843. Did he sign any of the resolutions?—Yes; he has drawn them up, and signed them.

2848. Did you ever know any person take

the chair who was not a member of the union?—Certainly not.

2869. Would any person be allowed to take the chair at the meeting of a class, or at a public meeting, who was not a member?—No, certainly not; it was not allowed except he was a member of the union, as I have always understood.

**Par. 21.** After this, Shelly was cross-examined further by the committee and by Popay; and Popay was asked by the committee,

[Committee].—Do you deny that you ever took the chair?

[Popay].—Most decidedly.

[Committee].—Are you prepared to say that what these persons have said is untrue?

[Popay].—Yes.

[Committee].—You mean to say, that you did not take the chair at any of the class-meetings, or the public meetings?

[Popay].—Yes.

[Committee].—You wish to be understood that you stake your character upon that point?

[Popay].—Yes; at the meeting of the National Political Union, either at class or general meetings, I never attempted to take the chair; and that I have been there often times, perhaps a score of times, when Mr. Simpson has proposed I should take the chair, and I have always declined doing so.

**Par. 22.** Hereupon, Michael M'Henry was called in, and underwent the following examination:

2875. When you have been present at the political unions and Popay has been there, have you seen him take the chair?—Yes, and I have documents in my pocket to prove it; I was elected a committee-man on the same night, the 4. of September. [The witness delivered in a book.]

2876. What is that document?—The minutes of the proceedings, and it shows who was in the chair.

2877. Does it state that Popay was in the chair?—Yes, and it states every other chairman up to the time at which the book ends.

2878. How came it to be in your custody?—I went to our secretary and got it.

2879. Who is he?—The man at the Duke of York; he was secretary then.

2880. What is his name?—Parr.

2881. In whose handwriting is that?—Parr's; he was secretary at the time.

2882. Was it made at the time?—Yes, that very night.

2883. Have you any doubt it was made at that time?—No doubt.

2884. You are sure that Parr would certify that it was made within two or three days?—On that very night.

2885. Do you speak from recollection?—Yes, and Popay knows it, and Mr. Parker, the man that I work for, and me, were elected that very night.

2886. You recollect seeing the writing at that very time?—Yes, I recollect the book and some papers.

2887. What was the subject for discussion that night?—It always appeared in the “Poor Man’s Guardian” that comes out on Sunday; Church Property and things of that kind. The subject was never entered in the book which you can see from the beginning.

2888. Was any notice of motion given on that evening?—I cannot say as to that.

2889. You were chosen committee-man that same evening?—Yes, me and Parker, the master tailor I work for; I was his man, and we both went into the meeting at the same time and place, and him and me were chosen to attend the committee at Theobald’s-road to represent our class, No. 46.

2890. This was a class-meeting?—Yes, the 46th class.

2891. Was it a very full meeting?—Yes, there were more than twenty on this night.

2892. When you say that Popay was in the chair, do you mean that man opposite you?—Yes; there are two men I can bring forward to prove it, Mr. Wilkins of No. 2 in the Clapham-road, smith and farrier, and Mr. Parker of Cold Harbour-lane.

2893. Did you see Parr write these minutes?—Yes, I sat next to him.

2894. Did he write the proceedings of each evening on the evening that they occurred?—Yes, just so.

2895. Were they signed by any person?—No, no more than by himself.

2896. Were they signed by himself?—I do not know that he signed his name to them, unless money was collected and handed over, and then he signed his name to it.

2897. Did he sign his name to these minutes?—That I cannot say.

2898. It was not usual for the chairman to be called upon at the end of the proceedings to sign the minutes?—No.

2899. This is the minute: “4. Sept. 1832, “Mr. Popay in the chair; the proceedings of “the preceding meeting are read and con-“firmed, when the subject for discussion, as “appeared in the ‘Poor Man’s Guardian,’ “was put and carried unanimously; Mr. “M’Henry and Mr. Parker were nominated “as committee-men to the 46th class; Mr. “Alchin gave notice that on Tuesday fort-“night he should move that the committee sit “three months instead of one month, one half “to go out in rotation, eligible to be re-“elected.” What was this meeting?—The Political Union.

2900. A class-meeting or an open meeting?—A class-meeting.

Par. 23. M’Henry was afterwards questioned by the committee as follows, and gave the following answers:

2921. Have you any doubt whatever, that on the night you were admitted a member you saw this person acting as chairman?—I have no doubt that I saw him myself, and

what made me go and look after this document is, that the police have got a sort of gazette, which they call the “Police Gazette,” and through that they cast every slur upon our character that they can, and I thought it right to get this document.

2922. You deliberately affirm that you were present and saw Popay in the chair?—Yes, I do, candidly and honestly.

2923. Is that Parr’s handwriting?—Yes, it is.

2924. You say Mr. Parker was present?—Yes, he was.

Par. 24. There now remained Parr and Parker to be called with regard to this point, Popay having denied the authenticity of the book produced by M’Henry. On the 22. they came, and Parr was examined first. After having told the committee that he did not now belong to the Union, but that he had belonged to it until his wife died, in the fall of the year, he was asked and answered as follows:

2930. Did you officiate as secretary?—Yes, we were forming a fund of benevolence for the purpose of any little money that might be wanted for any little emergency, and I kept the account of it a long while, till Mr. Alchin took it.

2931. Did you officiate as secretary?—Yes.

2932. And took down minutes of the meeting?—Yes.

2933. What meeting was this?—It was the meeting of the political union; more than one class met; mine was the forty-sixth class; the ninety-first class used to meet there.

2934. Just look at this (handing to the witness the book which had been produced on Friday) book.—Yes, I recollect this.

2935. Is that your handwriting?—Yes.

Par. 25. Having given answers relative to other meetings recorded in the book, his evidence proceeded thus:

2945. What is the date of the next entry?—September 4, 1832, Mr. Popay in the chair, I proposed him to the chair.

2946. Did you make that minute?—It is my hand writing.

2947. Did you make it after the proceedings of the day were over?—I made it at the time, to the best of my recollection.

2948. Did you make that last entry?—Yes; Mr. Fox was in the chair.

2949. You were not appointed secretary at all the meetings?—No; I did it of my own free will; I had nothing for it, and I undertook to do it while they were forming this fund.

2950. What was the object of this meeting when Popay was in the chair?—It would appear in the *Poor Man’s Guardian*.

Par. 26. After this, Mr. Parr was asked whether the subject of discussion

for the evening was political or not, and whether, if the *Poor Man's Guardian* were put into his hand, he could point out the subject that was discussed that evening. Having looked at the *Guardian*, and having had read to him the following article, he said, "that he had no doubt but that was the subject." His evidence relating to this matter was as follows :

2962. The entry is this, "That this union, "feeling at this important time the necessity "of expressing their opinions of the conduct "of the present administration as compared "with the former, do hereby call upon the "people of this country to beware of pledging "themselves to support any candidate during "the ensuing elections, who may belong to "the treacherous, cowardly, and malignant "Whigs, or the no less tyrannical Tory fac- "tion. And that we further call upon the "people to exert all their influence, to secure "the return of all candidates, who are wil- "ling to carry into effect the principles of "the National Union of the Working Classes, "as set forth in their objects and laws." I have no doubt that was the subject.

2963. You think that was the subject?—Yes.

2964. It was discussed when Popay was in the chair?—Yes.

2965. Do you know whether it was carried in the affirmative or negative?—It was carried unanimously.

2966. Are you in work now?—No; I am doing nothing at present.

2967. You have left the union?—I withdrew from it after the death of my wife; I go sometimes to some of the meetings.

2968. Did you meet Popay at the class-meetings on more than one occasion?—Several.

Par. 27. After this there came Mr. Parker, Mr. Hawkins (the landlord of the Duke of York), Mr. Hawkins's brother who lived at the Duke of York and served there as an assistant, and John B. Young, all of whom stated that they had seen him in the chair, acting as chairman. As John B. Young was the last amongst those who gave evidence relative to Popay being in the chair, that evidence is here cited in conclusion of the statements relative to this fourth allegation, first giving insertion to the evidence of Popay himself with regard to the character of Young, with whom of all the petitioners and witnesses Popay was most intimate, and at whose house he and his wife and children most frequently visited.

1525. Is that J. Young or F. Young?—F. Young lived with his brother.

1526. Were these men of bad character?—Most decidedly not. I had, and have now to this very hour, although we unfortunately differ as we do, a very high opinion of F. B. Young.

1527. You believe them to be persons of great worth and integrity?—I believe them to be very honest men.

Par. 28. The following is the evidence of J. B. Young :

3251. You knew him (Popay) a considerable time?—Yes.

3252. Was he ever at your house?—Very frequently.

3253. And his wife?—Yes, and children.

3254. Did they frequently eat and drink there?—Yes.

3255. Did you know him very well?—We were very intimate; particularly so; we always considered him a friend.

3256. Was he a member of the Political Union?—I have always considered him as such; he used to attend all the union meetings.

3257. Did you ever see him take an active part there?—Yes, very; I always considered him a very active member.

3258. Did you ever see him in the chair?—I have frequently seen him in the chair; I cannot say whether it was the union nights, but I have seen him in the chair.

3259. At these meetings, is any body allowed to enter but the members of the union?—At the weekly meetings they are; at the public meetings any one is allowed to enter.

3260. Did you ever see him at any of those meetings, when none but members are allowed to enter?—Yes, I did.

3261. Very frequently?—Yes, very frequently.

#### ALLEGATION V.

Par. 29. In support of this allegation, the petitioner, Simpson, who was the class-leader of the class to which he asserted Popay belonged, produced one paper, containing a list of the names of members, and an account of the money paid by them; there was the name "A. B." with the sum placed against it; and, in another paper (both papers being manifestly written long ago) there appeared the name of "Pearce." The authenticity of these papers was denied by Popay, and Simpson did not pretend that Popay had ever written in them in his own hand. It appears, that each member of the union received a card from his class-leader, as a sort of passport for admission to the union upon all occasions; and, that these cards

were taken out afresh every quarter of a year. Simpson declared that he had furnished Popay with suitable cards, and received payment from him for the cards. Popay acknowledged that he had received cards from Simpson; but said that he got them *as specimens to be shown by him to other persons*; but this was positively denied by Simpson, who was corroborated by James Brown, who had, upon one of these occasions (he being a class-leader of another class) lent Simpson a card to give to Popay. By referring to questions 163, 632, 827, 2543 of the minutes of evidence, the House can have no doubt upon this point. Popay being questioned with regard to the friendship of Mr. Alderman Wilson, answered as follows:

1307. Have you a daughter going to live with Alderman Wilson?—The eldest went to live with Alderman Wilson till some short time since.

1308. How did you get acquainted there?—During the time she was living at Streatham, Mrs. Popay worked at her needle in the ornamental way, for some ladies at Streatham, who took some considerable notice of her.

1309. You considered Alderman Wilson as a friend, did you?—Most decidedly so.

Par. 30. This acknowledgment of the mention of Alderman Wilson, which was confirmed by the positive assertion of so many witnesses, and which, on that account, was absolutely undeniable, was a strong proof of the truth of this allegation; because, without the motives imputed to him, or some similar motive, your committee can perceive no reason whatever for Popay's mentioning this circumstance relative to Mr. Alderman Wilson, a circumstance which these petitioners could, in all human probability, never have learned, except from Popay himself.

#### ALLEGATION VI.

Par. 31. This allegation is supported by the most positive assertion of James Brown, James Price, John Simpson, and, more particularly, by Mr. Sturges. By referring to questions 14, 158, 372, 3356, 3388, of the minutes of evidence, the House will perceive abundant proof of this allegation; but, indeed, the fact was confessed by Popay himself in the following terms:

1851. Have you any thing to suggest upon that, as to calling any of the parties or otherwise before the committee?—There is not only one question or answer, but a whole line of questions, which, although they are answered truly, I believe leave a different impression on the mind of the committee than I wish they should arrive at. It is those questions regarding my being in the capacity of a drawing-master. It is the impression on the mind of the committee that I assumed that dress for the exclusive purpose of imposing on the union. I judge so from the other evidence. To me it does appear to be of very material importance. I beg leave to set myself right in the eyes of the committee: after I had attended many of the union meetings, I became acquainted with Mr. Sturges, of the Camberwell New road, as I before stated. He asked me to his house, and introduced me to his wife; and I felt that, in my then circumstances, it would be very desirable indeed that I should introduce Mrs. Popay, who was in a very weak state of health and mind. I thought I could not with propriety do it unless I assumed some active habits; therefore, that was the first origin of my carrying the port-folio, in order that I might appear to him to have some rational occupation.

1852. That was done with an intention to deceive?—It was done decidedly as I have stated. I had one of two alternatives; either of candidly and openly confessing to Mr. Sturges who and what I was as connected with the police, or that I might have some other means of keeping myself. I was fearful it might be impressed on the committee, that I assumed this dress for the purpose of deceiving the union; had it not been for the purpose of introducing Mrs. Popay, I never should have taken those steps.

1853. Did you hesitate to communicate to Mr. Sturges, that you were a member of the police-establishment, under the idea that if he was aware of your being in that situation, he would consider you were not holding a sufficient rank in life for you to have been acquainted with Mrs. Sturges?—He would have looked on me as holding a situation such as he would not have liked to have had any sort of intercourse with.

1854. He being a member of the political union himself at that time?—He being a member of the union at that time.

#### ALLEGATION VII.

Par. 32. By every one of the witnesses, not only by the petitioners, but by Mr. M'Henry, the two Messrs. Hawkins, Messrs. Parr, Sturges, Parker, and Fortzer, some of them not now belonging to the unions, and one of them never having belonged to any union, this allegation is, all through, as to Popay's general zeal, sustained by the

most positive assertions. With regard to the specific fact of his walking arm-in-arm in the procession to Copenhagen-house, James Brown and James Price are both positive, he having had Brown by the arm. Popay himself speaks of this in the following manner :

1557. Did you go to the meeting at Copenhagen-house ?—I did.

1558. Did you walk arm-in-arm with James Brown ?—Some part of the way I think it is very likely I did. I believe I did.

1559. Did you so walk arm-in-arm past Scotland-yard ?—No.

1560. Where did you walk at that period of it ?—I believe on the foot-way ; it was only after we crossed the road that I jostled in with the procession.

1561. Brown was a violent young man, too ?—Brown was warm in his politics and in his mode of expressing himself.

1562. You did not think he was too warm for you to walk arm-in-arm with ?—I believe all the written documents that have ever fallen from my hand have described Brown as a man harmless in his way, for want, if I may so term it, of ability, although he was of great republican principles.

*Par. 33.* At a subsequent examination, he acknowledged that he danced with Simpson's wife a part of the evening at Copenhagen-house, and the House will observe, that this is that same John Simpson with whom he, in his written reports, says he went to the grand committee at Theobald's-road, and from whom he, in the same written reports, says he obtained a knowledge relative to the female dirks, and other matters of that kind. The House will not fail to observe, that this was John Simpson, the class-leader, from whom he obtained the cards above-mentioned, and with whose family he denies an intimacy, though, in the following manner, he acknowledges having danced with Simpson's wife at the celebration of the anniversary of the last French revolution.

3684. How often were you at Copenhagen-house ?—Once in my life.

3685. That is the meeting at which you danced with Simpson's wife ?—Yes.

#### ALLEGATION VIII.

*Par. 34.* This allegation is supported by the testimony of Collins and Frederick B. Young, as will be seen by reference to questions 596, 993, 1000, of the

minutes of evidence ; and it is spoken of by Popay himself in the following manner,

1539. You did not walk arm-in-arm with Collins to Hardy's funeral ?—No.

1540. You are quite positive of that ?—I am confident that I did not take him by the arm to walk with him : whether in the bustle he took hold of my arm, I really cannot positively say.

1541. It is very particular. Endeavour to recollect yourself : had you Collins by the arm or not, in the procession walking to Hardy's funeral, in any part of the town ?—To the very best of my recollection, I had not.

1542. Were you with him in the procession ?—I do not remember him in the procession. I remember F. B. Young ; that he had hold of my arm is very likely. We three left the procession at Newgate-street, and went off to Bunhill-fields.

1543. Then Collins did not speak to you, as you were in the procession ; you cannot recollect his being near to you ?—He did not speak to me in the procession ; after we left the procession, we conversed together as we went along.

1544. You were by the side of him then ?—We three left the procession : Collins, F. B. Young, and myself.

1545. When you got to the place of interment, did you stand on a tomb-stone and take notes ?—I did.

1547. Did you go after the funeral to a public-house with Collius ?—I did, and with F. B. Young.

*Par. 35.* The House will not fail to observe, that the Collins here spoken of is that same Collins whom Popay describes as a very violent young man ; as a man always going armed to public meetings.

#### ALLEGATION IX.

*Par. 36.* This allegation is supported by the evidence of Frederick B. Young, of James Brown, and of Collins, as far as relates to the proposition relative to a shooting-gallery ; and by Brown and Frederick B. Young, relative to the broad-sword exercise. Popay denied that this proposition about the shooting-gallery had any thing political in it ; and he asserted that it was a lesson on the single-stick, and not on the broad-sword that he gave to Frederick B. Young, relative to which matters, his statement was as follows.

1604. Do you remember James Brown and you walking together towards Paddington, and your pointing him out a shooting-gallery there ?—Yes.

1605. Did you say you should like to establish one at Walworth?—No. I will explain what is meant by the shooting-gallery. The one that struck our view was the shooting-gallery used for archery. I stated, that when I lived at Marlston, there were large premises that had formerly belonged to a gentleman of great note, which house had been taken down, and the pleasure-grounds let out, and that archery there was one of our favourite sports. I think I said I had, once or twice, been in the gallery and shot there.

1606. You did not express a wish to have one at Walworth?—I knew that Walworth was a place where, from the lowness of the neighbourhood, had I been at liberty to open a shooting gallery there, it would not have answered.

1607. Did you ever give a lesson on the broad-sword exercise?—No; I have played at single-stick with Frederick Burkling Young on one occasion; I have too good an opinion of him to suppose that he would charge me with the fact of teaching the broad-sword; we did play one day for a few minutes at single-stick.

1608. Was it proposed by you to play, or by him?—I believe that I had stated on some former occasion that I could play at single-stick, and that begat a wish on his part to play with me, and on one occasion we did.

1609. Did Young understand it at all?—No.

1610. Then you broke his head, I suppose?—No, I played with him as a brother would with a brother.

*Par. 37.* But, these questions, relative to arming and learning the use of arms brought out, incidentally, new facts. Woodford, Shelley, and Collins, asserted that Popay proposed and subscribed towards a dépôt of arms; that they subscribed sixpence each, and that Furzey subscribed half-a-crown; but, that, thinking of it the next day and coming to the resolution that it was not a proper thing, they told Simpson the class-leader, who had the money, to apply the money towards paying for a banner, which was, at that time, prepared for the use of the union. Simpson says, that he was not present when the proposition was made, but that the subscribers told him that Popay made the proposition, he, Simpson, having spoken of it as a wrong thing; but Simpson added, that he heard Popay speak in favour of the proposition. It came out also from the evidence of the petitioners, that a pistol had been produced by the chairman at one of the meetings, and that Popay eagerly took hold of the pistol, would have purchased it if he had

had change, and recommended to the members to provide themselves with pistols of the same sort. This fact, as well as the fact of the dépôt of arms, was denied by Popay, in regard to the arms, positively denied altogether, and with regard to the pistol, denied as far as related to the recommendation to members. On this subject your committee have to add that they find in the written report of Popay of 11. October, 1832, an account of this pistol, and a representation of the views of the union with regard to it, to which report is attached an original card containing the precise address of Mr. Yearly, the chairman, who produced the pistol at the meeting. It also came out, that Popay offered to subscribe five shillings towards a prize of five pounds which had been offered in the *Poor Man's Guardian* for the best shooter in the union. This came out on the cross-examination of Price, who, at the same time stated, that Popay suggested to him that his (Price's) garden would be a good place to put up a target for learning to shoot. James Brown related that, being at Popay's house, he showed him some sword-sticks, and, pointing to them, significantly asked Brown whether they would not be good things. Mr. Sturges in his evidence stated to the committee as follows.

3417. Have you had any reason since to know that his stories of distress were feigned?—Yes, I do think so now; I find he has been introducing himself into my family for espionage, and there is one circumstance which I consider very improper; I exceedingly regret that any man should introduce himself into my house as an armed spy; he had a sword-stick with him upon one occasion; upon looking at it, I observed it opened; he said yes, and he drew it out and showed me it was a sword-stick.

3418. Did he give you any reason for having it in his possession?—Not any.

*Par. 38.* Popay denied the allegations as to the five-pound prize and as to the target; but acknowledged that he had had sword-sticks; and put no question to Mr. Sturges when he gave the evidence just cited. Upon this subject of arming and using arms, the committee refer to the questions 40, 57, 78, 366, 603, 652, 682, 690, 695, 731, 781, 860,

875, 901, 918, 1004, 1994, 2007, 3298. But, with regard to this matter of arms and of arming, your committee think that they should not discharge their duty to the House if they did not here refer the House to the whole of Popay's written report of the 20. July (No. 31).

**Par. 39.** This report having been shown to Popay, he acknowledged that it was his handwriting. Being asked what he did with the knife here mentioned, he said that he had given it to M'Lean. M'Lean being asked what he had done with it, he said that he had carried it to Scotland-yard. Price being asked about the knife, positively denied that he had ever showed a knife to Popay of any description whatever, while he acknowledged that he had a pistol and a sword, and that he kept them for the purpose of defending his house and asserting his political rights. Your committee cannot refrain from observing here that this was that same James Price who went with his wife along with Popay as mentioned in allegation XI, on a friendly and family party to Richmond, in the month of August succeeding this 20. July.

**Par. 40.** Another most interesting matter connected with the arming came out before the committee, from an examination of written reports of Popay. In his report of the 23. of August, your committee find that he represents that, in a desultory conversation with Price, Simpson, and Mat hews, he learned that an arming was intended, and that arms were to be purchased at half-price in Middle-row, Holborn. This report is indorsed as having been shown to Lord Melbourne, and there is a memorandum that his lordship caused a gun to be purchased in Holborn. This story, which engaged the attention of the Home Office, requires a statement from the evidence of Simpson and Collins, as follows:

691. Did he advise you to go and look at a pair of pistols?—He did; coming once from Theobald's-road institution from a meeting of the union, somewhere near Gray's Inn Lane, he said to me, "I have been to look at a pair of pistols to-day; the price is 36s., and, if you are a judge of these things, having been in the navy, and travelled a good deal,

"I should wish you to go and look at them, "pass your opinion on them, and purchase them for me." I was astonished for two or three minutes, and I then recollect other circumstances that did not altogether please me. I said "No, it is better you should look at these things yourself." He said, I might get them cheaper. I told him if he wished to go to the most economical place, that I understood there was a depot in Holborn at which they sold second-hand arms.

**Par. 41.** The evidence of Collins is to the same effect, as the following specimen will convince the House:

1003. Did you go with Simpson and Popay to Theobald's-road?—I met them, on one occasion, going to Theobald's-road.

1004. Did you converse about arms at that time?—They were conversing when I met them. I overheard Popay say to Simpson that he had seen something which he thought would suit him; that there was a pair that was 36s., and, as he was a judge of them himself, he would like him to look at them.

1005. A pair of pistols, you mean?—He said "a pair;" I suppose he meant pistols.

1006. Did you understand, that Popay was about to arm himself?—I considered that was his motive for asking Simpson to look at them.

1007. What do you suppose he meant by arming and the use of arming himself?—If I am to speak my mind honestly from conversations that had taken place at various times, we considered that we were oppressed, and kept down by force of arms, and that it was necessary to protect ourselves against such attacks as had been made on the people at Clitheroe and various other places.

1008. Was that your opinion or the opinion of Popay?—That was my opinion, from his conversation, that it was necessary to have them, as I heard him express similar sentiments.

1009. From his conversation you gathered that he thought it was necessary for you to have arms to protect yourselves?—That was my opinion.

**Par. 42.** The committee have to point out that Simpson and Collins could not by any possibility have known anything about the Holborn affair, as stated to Lord Melbourne, because they gave this evidence on the 8. and the reports of Popay were not delivered into the committee until the 10.

#### ALLEGATION X.

**Par. 43.** This allegation is asserted to be true by Simpson, Brown, and others. Popay himself acknowledges that he has thrown money into a hat when it has been going round for purposes similar to those mentioned in the

first part of this allegation. He also acknowledges that he was at Kennington-common on the occasion here mentioned, and that he was in the van; and M'Lean acknowledges that he saw him there.

#### ALLEGATION XI.

**Par. 44.** This allegation was not denied by Popay, except that he said there was no meeting of the union at Richmond, which was explained by Brown, F. B. Young, and Price, to have arisen from a mistake on the part of their friends at Richmond: except also, as far as this allegation relates to his having described himself as so poor as not to have the means of getting food for his family. The rest of the allegation he acknowledges to be true, and describes the party as a friendly and family party, though consisting, as the House will observe, partly of Brown and of Price, whom he describes in his evidence as well as in his written reports, as violent men, men entertaining republican principles, and Price as the man who gave him the desperate weapon, the knife, which he thought it to be his duty to carry to M'Lean, and which M'Lean thought it his duty to carry to the commissioners. This family and friendly party having taken place, in two or three weeks after this report relative to the desperate knife was made.

#### ALLEGATION XII.

**Par. 45.** All the petitioners and all the witnesses they brought asserted the truth of this; but the committee found all other proof on the subject unnecessary, when, on the 10., the commissioners delivered in forty-nine reports, written in Popay's own hand, several of which reports contained an account of what took place in the class-meetings and other meetings of the union.

#### ALLEGATION XIII.

**Par. 46.** This allegation is maintained by Brown, by Simpson, by Shelley, by George Hawkins, by F. B. Young, and by several other witnesses; and Simpson states positively that he drew up a resolution for him, con-

demning the conduct of the metropolitan police; an extract from his evidence is in the following words:—

699. Did he ever advise you to go to Peckham and set up a union there?—The last time he was in my company was in the Albany-road, where the class met on the Monday night. He said, "Friend Simpson, I want my card;" as I was delivering the cards to the new members, he said, "I want my card;" "Well," said I, "what name?" Now I began to look around me; he said, "Pearce;" I said, "Am I to put down Pearce; I must be answerable for this card?" It was agreed, and he gave me two-pence. "Now," said he, "Simpson, you are doing no good in this place; you had better go down to Peckham" (Peckham I knew was particularly obnoxious to police); "go down there, and I will come to your elbow and assist you on all occasions." I thought that he considered the neighbourhood too respectable, and that there were not many of the working classes. I told him I should not move; that it was a very comfortable room, and the place was very respectable. He begged me to go down into Peckham, where he would assist me, and said we should do some good in Peckham.

**Par. 47.** Simpson being asked whether Popay had not consented to draw up a resolution to be proposed at a meeting of the union, condemnatory of the police, he answered as follows:

704. What did Popay say?—He said, I will draw it up for you; you call at my house; I called for it and said, "I am going up to the committee, I will propose it to-night." After some time, he drew it up and I took it to the committee, but it was not brought forward that night, as there was more important business.

705. Did he draw up the resolution?—He drew it up.

706. What was the tenor of the resolution?—It gave a vote of thanks for the good conduct of the city authorities in trying to outvie and assist us in keeping order and peace in the city, to show the difference between the two parties.

707. Did the language express it?—I cannot call to mind the words.

708. Did the resolution find fault with the metropolitan police?—It found fault with them, and praised the opposite party.

709. Do you mean to say, that Popay wrote out a resolution condemnatory of the police?—He wrote out this motion that I was to lay before the committee and move.

710. With his own hand?—With his own hand.

711. Did you see him write it?—I did, in the presence of his wife.

**Par. 48.** Frederick Young being asked what he knew respecting Popay's

language, and the advice he gave at the union meetings, answered as follows :

352. Can you remember that he made use of any expressions, either approving or abusing the Government?—He used generally to coincide with the speaker, but I cannot recollect any particular expression. I recollect his taking part in a meeting that was held at the Champion, when he suggested an amendment. It was called a "meeting of the Borough and Lambeth election association."

353. Was it at an election meeting?—Yes, it was; a proposition was made to publish a list of all those members who voted in favour of Mr. Hawes. It was published to know friends from enemies. It was considered that the proposition was not strong enough, and I believe he suggested from our "*most determined and inveterate enemies*."

Par. 49. John B. Young states that he (Popay) drew up a report to the committee for the purpose of raising money to retrieve the pecuniary affairs of the union, and your committee find one of his written reports, to which is attached a letter he sent in to the commissioners through M'Lean, upon which subject your committee cannot forbear from laying the evidence before the House as follows :

3666. Here is a letter, attached to a report of yours, shown to you yesterday; is that (report) your handwriting?—Yes.

3667. Where did you get this letter?—It is not clear to my mind, but this is my present impression, that, after the meeting, it was left lying upon the table, and that I took it from the table after the business of the meeting was over. It was left by those who had it in charge. Mr. Barking Young gives a very different version of the affair, but I have no knowledge of it.

3668. You took it from John Young's table?—Most decidedly not; had I that impression on my mind, that I came by it in that way, I should have considered it a breach of confidence. It might have been handed to me at the time, but if it was, it was returned again. This is the impression on my mind, that the letter was produced at the time, and it was left lying on the table and I then took it. I thought it of no consequence, and I made the use you see of it.

3669. You did not take it from Mr. Young's table?—No; I know what Young says upon the business.

3670. Having got it, you carried it to Mr. M'Lean?—Yes.

3671. Did Mr. M'Lean make any observation upon your delivering him that letter?—I do not remember that he did.

3672. He did not disapprove of your taking it and bringing it to him?—He would have disapproved of it if I had come by it as Mr.

Young accuses me; the thing is of no use or value, and I could have had no inducement to commit a thing of the kind.

3673. Mr. M'Lean asked you no questions, finding fault with you for bringing it?—No, if he had found fault it would not have been preserved; it would have been destroyed.

Par. 50. M'Lean being questioned upon this point, said that he had no recollection of the letter.

Par. 51. Mr. Young said that this letter, which was a letter to Simpson from Chalan, relative to money-matters connected with the union, was shown by Simpson to him, Young, while Popay was in the room; that Simpson left it with Young; that it was lying on the table, and was afterwards missing; and that he saw it again for the first time in the committee-room attached to a report which Popay had sent in to the Government.

#### ALLEGATION XIV.

Par. 52. This allegation is asserted to be true by Simpson, by Brown, by Hearsee, by Price, by Shelley, and by Collins, and also by M'Henry who was not one of the petitioners. Simpson says that he spoke of the "*damnable Government*," as having deprived him of part of his coal-duties. Brown and Collins say, that he called the Government "*villains*" and the like; and Price being questioned upon the subject, answers as follows :

344. Relate any of the conversations you might have had with him, and the sort of language he used?—The conversation used to be political; on coming home, it generally turned upon that. In common conversation we used to give each other ideas concerning things, and once or twice I told him I did not think I should speak at any more of the meetings, because one or two of my acquaintances had said that I was too hasty, and that I did not put my words properly together; now, one or two have said that I spoke too harsh, and he has several times told me that I was *not half harsh enough*. He said that they were a set of *villains*, or something to that purpose, and "*they would expel them from the earth, damn the villains!*"

345. Who were?—Meaning the Government; I took him to mean the Government; we were talking about the Government.

346. Who did you understand him to mean by the term "*villains*?"—The Government.

347. What do you mean by *Government*?—The Ministers.

348. Persons in authority?—Those who

have the framing of the laws, and so on. He appeared to me a gentleman who had been entirely ruined by Government.

349. Did you learn that from his conversation?—He told me that he had given 500l. for a coal-meter's place, and he had not enjoyed it two months before it became worth not 40l. a year, and he was a ruined man.

350. Now did he use the precise expressions, "I will expel the villains from the earth?"—Yes, I am positive.

Par. 53. Mr. Hersee said that Popay's language was very violent against the Government, and such as he himself should not have thought of uttering. The remaining witness on this head was M'Henry, who came before the committee voluntarily, from having read the petition in the newspapers. This young man is a journeyman tailor, who lived at Camberwell at the time when he belonged to the unions, who has quitted the unions since, and now works for a master in Bond-street. His evidence was as follows:

1024. You met Popay one day in the road: explain to the committee how that happened?—I was doing some tailoring on my own account, and I had a bag in my hand in which was a coat for Miss Gay's coachman. Popay was coming down Denmark-hill at the time, with a man with him. The man was rather shabbily dressed, and Popay wore a blue frock with an old-fashioned white hat. I crossed the road to shake hands with him; we got talking; I had not been at the union for two or three of the meeting nights; I asked how they were going on, and we got talking about different political things that had occurred some time previous. He turned the subject to the state of Ireland, and to enumerate the number of widows and orphans made by Stanley, and said it would be a damned good thing if some one would take and assassinate that bloody villain Stanley. That was the expression he made use of.

1025. This was Popay, was it?—Popay.

1026. Did he say anything to you about the number of Irish living in and about London?—That it was a pity that more of the Irish did not belong to the unions; he believed there were not less than a hundred thousand, in and about London, and said that I was the only Irishman that belonged to the 46th class.

1027. How came you to tell me of this?—I was horror-struck at reading the petition that was presented at a man's trying to entrap me and put my life in danger, if I had sided with him on the attack he would have made on Stanley.

Par. 54. Popay being questioned as to this point, two days after M'Henry

had given his evidence, answered as follows:

1617. Do you know a young man of the name of M'Henry?—I have seen him a long time since.

1618. Where did you meet him?—The last time I met him was on Herne-hill or Denmark-hill.

1619. Where did you see him any time before that?—It was not for a considerable time; he withdrew from the unions.

1620. You saw him at the unions?—I have seen him at the Duke of York.

1621. Was he a member?—I cannot speak to that.

1622. You met him there frequently?—Yes.

1623. Did any thing pass between him and you on Denmark-hill about Mr. Stanley?—No, our conversation was one of very few minutes at that time.

1624. You did not tell him it was a pity some one would not kill Mr. Stanley?—Certainly not.

1625. Assassinate him, or some word of that sort?—Oh, dear, no; on the affairs of Ireland, in private, when I have been talking politics, I have, *certainly, regretted the state of Ireland*; when conversing with him as to assassination of the leaders I have endeavoured to show these men the danger and folly of it.

1626. You did not say that there were a hundred thousand Irishmen in and near London, and regretted that more of them did not belong to the union?—No, certainly not.

Par 55. It is to be observed, that M'Henry was, afterwards, face to face with Popay, before the committee, giving evidence as to Popay's having been in the chair, and that Popay did not put any question relative to the project of assassinating Mr. Stanley. Further as to this allegation relating to the violent language of Popay, the committee refer to questions 344, 673, 878, 914, 934, 2162.

#### ALLEGATION XV.

Par. 56. This allegation is sustained by the positive assertions of all the nine petitioners, as well as by most of those persons whom they called in support of their evidence; and particularly by Mr. Sturges, who gives the following account of the matter.

3368. Did he plead great poverty and pecuniary distress?—He did.

3369. Did he thereby get those little civilities from you and your wife that such a representation would naturally bring from you?—Yes, he did.

3370. Did he get any articles of dress for any part of his family?—On occasions when

his wife has been visiting Mrs. Sturges, on going home late, she has borrowed a shawl to keep her from the inclement weather, and they have been returned; but I have heard Mrs. Sturges say, that there are two trifling articles not worth mentioning, that are still in her possession.

3411. Did you ever suspect him of pretending distress to extort charity? — No, I did not; I thought it was real and unfeigned.

3412. How did you ascertain that it was real? — Merely from his own confession I thought it was.

3413. Did you ever visit at his house? — Yes.

3414. Did that indicate distress or comparative comfort? — It indicated distress, very much so. I was surprised to observe that when out he appeared to spend money very freely, but at home his family seemed to be in want of the very necessaries of life.

3415. Did you ever remark upon the inconsistency of his leaving his family in want and spending money abroad so freely? — No, I did not, for our friendship did not subsist any length of time afterwards. On one occasion Mrs. Sturges went to visit Mrs. Popay, she represented to me, because Mrs. Sturges had known we always endeavoured to treat them as well as we could in our circumstances; she said she had had very bad tea, and at supper she was asked to partake of a few slices of cold potatoes warmed upon the gridiron, and she observed to me that that showed the poverty of the place; whether real or feigned, I cannot say.

Par. 57. The account given by James Brown (97, 168), and the account of the two Youngs, especially by J. Young (questions 3281 to 3292), your committee think well worthy of the attention of the House, as being strongly characteristic, not only of the proceedings of Popay, but of the characters of these petitioners. Your committee would wish to impress upon the attention of the House, the fact that this John Young belonged to the thirty-fourth class; that this very man, who actually entertained and fed Popay and his family, was a member of that 34th class of the union, which Popay in his written report of the 20. July, above recited, denounced to the Government as being denominated the fighting class, and as having arms which were monthly inspected by the class-leader. Besides these witnesses, there were several others who spoke to the same point, particularly in answers to the questions 361, 468, 559, 583, 626, 734, 895, 904, 2023, 2374.

Par. 58. Popay denied that he feigned

poverty (question 1511); he said that he was poor, but that it was very seldom that he had not five or six sovereigns in his pocket.

#### ALLEGATION XVI.

Par. 59. This allegation is by Woodford asserted to be true; and acknowledged to be true by Popay himself, who says that he was directed to go to Calthorpe-street, by Commissioner Rowan, himself, who had an interview with him on the occasion at White Horse-yard.

#### ALLEGATION XVII.

Par. 60. A spy being, according to Dr. Johnson, a "person sent to watch the conduct or movement of others," there needed, on the part of the petitioners, nothing in support of this allegation as far as related to Popay; the fact of his having been for nearly a year employed for this purpose being acknowledged by Popay himself, by M'Lean, and by the commissioners, and the fact of some of his reports having been laid before the Secretary of State being proved by evidence written as well as oral. And, as to the spies in the plural number, several of the petitioners assert that they have seen many policemen in different dresses; M'Lean says that he had, and has, in his division always two and sometimes twenty in plain clothes, and the commissioners acknowledge that they authorise this and authorise the employing of policemen in plain clothes to go to public meetings of all sorts; to mix with the people at Epsom Races; and when the King goes to the Houses of Parliament; to mix with the people at the Bible meetings at Exeter-hall: to mix with them at the church-doors, and even in the churches themselves.

Par. 61. When, however, the commissioners were before your committee the first time (10. July), they gave the following account of the authority as to this species of employment.

1817. Is Lord Melbourne acquainted with the fact of your employing the police to attend in plain clothes at political meetings? — Not at political meetings nor at political unions; it

was one peculiar system of union; nobody ever attended on our part any political union except the National Union of the Working Classes.

1818. Was it within your knowledge that either Popay or any other person attended any election meetings?—There were never any orders given to attend any election-meetings whatever; I believe some were attended with a view, as it was afterwards stated, to know whether it was likely there would be any breach of the peace; we never sent to any place with any other view than that of preserving the peace.

1819. Were your instructions to attend public meetings, such as a meeting Mr. Hume would preside at?—No, certainly not.

1822. I wish to know, whether with your approbation, any of your people out of uniform were desired to attend any public meeting out of doors or in doors?—Certainly not; Mr. Alderman Wood will remember, that at a meeting of the Crown and Anchor, when some police were there, some excitement was created. I ought to state why we sent them there: the secretary of the meeting said he was apprehensive of a disturbance, and we sent as many police as he requested.

Par. 62. This was the evidence of the commissioners on the 10. On the 23. they were examined again relative to Popay's reports, several of which related to public meetings and to parochial meetings; and then the following questions and answers were put and given, relative to these reports, made by Popay from public meetings:

393. Here is a report of what took place at the Town Hall in the Borough, where there were several speakers, and one of them a member of Parliament: did you approve of a report like that being made from this policeman?—I should think he had better not have wasted his time in attending such meetings or reporting any such speeches. We had no wish to have reports from meetings of that sort; as commissioners of police, we should not have employed them to attend if we had understood beforehand the character of the meeting.

394. Did you reprove the man for making such a report?—No, I did not; I have no recollection of ever having read it; it is marked by me, but if there was nothing in it relating to a public meeting, I should have marked "seen" upon it, that it might be put away.

395. You do not mean that you have read it?—No, there were many I did not read.

396. You have no recollection of having read it?—None whatsoever.

397. Is it of a description likely to impress itself upon your mind, if you had read it?—Yes, it is; there was something of the same kind reported in the newspapers, and I may have some recollection of it from them.—[Rowan]. But the commissioners would not

have approved of anything of that kind being reported.

398. Have you any recollection of a report being made to you from a meeting where Mr. Hume was in the chair?—[Mayne]. In the Regent's Park was it?

399. No, Moutpelier House, Walworth.—I have no recollection of it.

399. There is the report (handing it to Mr. Mayne).—I have no doubt that this has been read, because it is marked that it was shown to Mr. Phillips.

3901. Whose handwriting is that?—It is marked by me, and also Col. Rowan has marked "put away".

3902. Then you approved of this man being sent to a meeting like that and making a report of it?—No, I do not say that; I do not know what the report is; it seems to be of a meeting of the Political Union of the Working Classes; if the meeting was not of that description, he ought not to have attended it. The general directions were, that he should attend public meetings of the National Union of the Working Classes.

3903. Did you ever desire to have reports of the public meetings except such as you might think dangerous to the public peace?—[Mr. Mayne]. Certainly not; I should not approve of any others had they been made. [Col. Rowan].—Nor should I.

3904. Should you approve of reports being made to you of meetings, except such as you considered might be dangerous to the public peace?—[Col. Rowan]. Certainly not.

3905. Nevertheless there was a public meeting at which Mr. Hume was in the chair?—It was our practice to send a policeman (one or two) to public meetings, without any intention of their reporting what they heard to the commissioners. We did so, because, whatever good intentions the parties might have, who called the meeting together, or however legal their object might have been, the meetings were likely to be attended by others with a different view, who might commit a breach of the peace, and we generally had, at the nearest police-station in the neighbourhood, some men in readiness, in case they should be wanted, or if it became necessary further to be called upon to preserve the peace.

3906. Sometimes these men were not in policemen's clothes?—Sometimes they were not, and sometimes they were.—[Mr. Mayne]. Some of them were in plain clothes.

3907. On those occasions do they make reports?—Sometimes; we frequently find that they make reports that we do not want.

3908. Nevertheless, this report was shown by you to Mr. Phillips?—It was.

3909. Here is a report of the speech of Mr. Hume upon the occasion?—[Col. Rowan]. I am quite sure I have not desired the report to be made, nor read the report of the speech of Mr. Hume, or any other member upon the occasion; I should not conceive it to be within the line of our duty.

3910. You would read it before you showed it to Mr. Phillips?—I do not know that I read it.—[Mr. Mayne]. It was probably reported in the newspaper.—[Col. Rowan]. But if it was taken to Mr. Phillips, that would exonerate us from all responsibility.

**Par. 63.** With regard to the latter part of this allegation of the petitioners, your committee having pointed out to your attention the denunciation of Popay against Price, in the report of 20. July recited above; his proposition relative to the dépôt of arms, in contradiction of which he never put a single question to either of the witnesses; his temptations relative to the shooting-gallery, the broad-sword, the five-pound prize, the pistol, and the sword-sticks; his being present in plain clothes at Calthorpe-street, and Furzey, who had been the man first to charge him with being a spy, being brought to trial on a charge arising at that place; his conversation with M'Henry on Denmark-hill about assassination, in contradiction to which he put not one question to M'Henry: your committee having pointed out these things to the attention of the House, leave it the House to determine, whether the petitioners were founded in their allegation, that they were "living amongst spies, seeking their lives?"

#### ALLEGATION XVIII.

**Par. 64.** There can now be no doubt that those petitioners were and are compelled to pay for the maintenance of policemen who are employed as spies; but, it is the duty of your committee to show to the House, that the people are taxed for the purpose of giving extra money to the policemen thus employed; or, at least, to this particular spy. Both Popay and M'Lean denied this, at first, but afterwards confessed the fact.

[To Popay] 1716. Did you receive any extraordinary payment for such service?—Nothing.

1717. You were ordered to do it, and you found it necessary to obey the orders?—Decidedly so.

**Par. 65.** But, some considerable time afterwards.

[To Popay] 1725. Were you put to any expense attending these meetings?—Yes.

1726. To any considerable amount?—No, very small indeed.

1777. Can you recollect any expense you were put to: did you keep a memorandum?—I have been, perhaps, at the expense of 3d. 4d. or 6d in an evening.

1778. Have you charged that to your employer?—Yes, I charged that to Mr. M'Lean.

1779. As an expense incurred at the meeting?—Yes,

1780. Do you know to what amount?—It would not make above 22s. or 23s. in the course of three months.

1781. By whom has that been paid?—By Mr. M'Lean.

[To Mr. M'Lean, on 8. July.] 1145. Was he (Popay) allowed any extra money for going to the unions?—Not a farthing.

1146. Does he have no extra allowance for wearing his own clothes?—Not a penny.

1147. Do you find him in plain clothes?—Not at all.

1148. It would be rather a punishment than an advantage?—I should consider it a very hard task for a man to be supplying his plain clothes, while at the end of the year his uniform would go into store nearly as good as when it came out.

1149. If the duty is well performed, it generally leads to promotion?—It would be impossible to promote every man whose conduct merits it.

1150. But he has been promoted?—Not on those grounds. My clerk that I had then obtained a situation to go to America, and I took Popay into the office, as I saw he was a person fit for it.

1151. What pay did he get then?—A guinea a week; now he has 1l. 2s. 6d.

1152. Having allowed him to go to the union to learn what he could, did you not think he would be put to some expense?—I never dreamed it would have cost him two-pence.

[To M'Lean, on 23. July] 3727. Popay has told us he got money from you to pay his expenses at those union meetings?—Not to pay his expenses that I am aware of; he did give me two or three bills, which I delivered in and got money for them; I believe it was merely to clear whatever little expense he might have been at, perhaps a pint of beer or anything of that kind that he said he had.

3728. You gave him some little matter for attending the unions?—I do not know that it was because he attended them; he was money out of pocket.

3729. In what way?—In consequence of his attending the unions.

3730. Then he did get money for attending those unions; I should suppose to pay for that he gave in a bill; perhaps a few shillings.

3788. Was he paid any expenses for that day (the day he went to Copenhagen-house)?—He never got any thing by that day that I am aware; he tendered me, I think, two or three small accounts; the whole did not amount to above two or three pounds; but, what it was on that day I cannot say.

3790. Little or much, out of what fund did

the money come?—That I cannot say, what fund it came out of; there are funds in Scotland-yard, but where they come from I do not know.

[To the commissioner, 23. July]. 3977. Popay has told the committee he has received money from the superintendent, and he has acknowledged that he gave him extra money for attending those meetings; do you recollect in the account of the disbursements of the superintendent that such sums were charged?—[Colonel Rowan]. Yes, there are such charges.

3978. For money given to this man on account of his attending those meetings?—[Mr. Mayne]. No, it was for expenses incurred; 2d. 3d. or 6d. at a time.—[Colonel Rowan]. Some of it was for stationery.

3979. For expenses he incurred in attending those meetings?—Yes.

3980. What is the utmost sum that has been paid?—[Mr. Mayne]. I think four or five pounds.

3981. Do you mean that four or five pounds is the total sum paid?—Yes, throughout the whole course of his attending.

3982. Do you recollect the length of time?—Between two and three years.

3983. During that time the only sum paid to him is under ten pounds?—Yes, it is under that.

3984. Paid in small sums?—Yes.

3985. The money does not come out of the police-rate levied upon the metropolis?—No.

3986. Whence do you derive the funds for that purpose?—From the Home Office; it is not paid out of the police establishment; it is paid by the Home Office through us.

3987. Of course all these payments have been sanctioned by the cashier of the Home Office?—By the Under Secretary of State.

*Par. 66.* Your committee having thus laid before the House as clear a statement of the evidence as they have been able to make, think it right to observe, before they proceed to submit their opinions with regard to the *prayer* of the petition, that, though every opportunity was allowed for the purpose, not a single witness was brought, either to rebut the evidence or to impeach the character of any one of the witnesses, all of whom except one, were housekeepers or living with relations who were, and that *one*, working for a most respectable master, while some of them were either master-tradesmen or carrying on business on their own account; all of whom, and all the connexions, and all the lives and conversations of whom, were well known to Popay, and

to the whole vicinage, in which he, as well as they resided; and on no one of whom was there to be found the means of affixing spot or blemish.

*Par. 67.* With regard to the prayer of the petition, your committee request the House, first to cast their eyes over the ten months' deeds of this most indefatigable and unrelenting spy; to survey the circuit of his exploits from the Borough Town-hall to Blackheath, and from Copenhagen-house to Finsbury-square; to behold him dancing with the wife of a man whom he had denounced in his reports, and standing on a tomb-stone writing down and then reporting the words uttered over the grave of a departed reformer; to trace him going from meeting to meeting and from group to group, collecting matter for accusation in the night, and going regularly in the morning bearing the fruits of his perfidy to his immediate employer, to be by him conveyed to the Government; to follow him into the houses of John B. Young and of Mr. Sturges, and then see him and his wife and children relieved and fed and warmed and cherished, and then look at one of his written reports, and see him describe Young's union class as armed to a man, and, at another, see him describe Mr. Sturges as the teacher of a doctrine that "fitted man for the worst of offences," and see Lord Mel bourne writing on the back of this report that "it is not unimportant, and ought not to be lost sight of;" to look at him making the hearts of these honest and kind petitioners ache, and bringing tears into their eyes by his piteous tales of poverty, and hear him now brag that he was seldom without five or six sovereigns in his pocket; to contemplate his profound hypocrisy, his assumed melancholy and distress of mind, his affected inclination to self-destruction, and his putting his wife forward as an auxiliary in the work of perfidy: your committee request the House to cast their eyes over these ten months of the life of this man, and then to consider whether it be possible for a Government to preserve the affections of a frank and

confiding people, unless it, at once, and in the most unequivocal manner, give proof of its resolution to put an end, and for ever, to a system which could have created such a monster in human shape.

*Par. 68.* And your committee neither can nor will pass in silence over the conduct of his employers, who, having, as stated by the commissioners on the 10. July, given instructions to men thus employed, to confine their attendance and reports to meetings and proceedings of the unions of the working classes, receive from this spy written reports of public political meetings, of election meetings, and of parochial meetings; who, after having received from him a report, saying that all the class-meetings are strictly private, and excluding all but members of the union, received from him reports of the proceedings in class-meetings, while they assert that they did not know that he was a member; who, while they treat with scorn the thought of having ever sanctioned reports of private conversations, receive and preserve reports of such private conversations; who, at the end of many months, when the spy is, at last, discovered, detected, and exposed, reward him for his services by immediately raising him in rank, and by raising his pay from 19s. to 22s. 6d. a week; and who, with all this in proof before the committee, came before that same committee, and expressly claim to be regarded as gentlemen and men of honour.

*Par. 69.* In conclusion, your committee observe, that a government, which resorts to the employing of spies, must of necessity be a hated government; that it must, therefore, be a government of mere and direct force; that it, in reality, declares war against the people, invites their hostility, and rests its existence on its power of keeping them forcibly in subjection; that, in such a state of things, there can be no willing obedience even to just and good laws, and no obedience to any laws except from the principle of fear, which, in whatever degree it produces submission, in that same degree en-

genders revenge; that as to the people of this country in particular, renowned and justly honoured throughout the world for their blunt sincerity, their confiding disposition, and their abhorrence of all disguise, what must their pleasure have been, when, over the grave of Hardy, they heard Mr. THELWALL exclaim, "*Where are your engines of perjury now; where your SPIES so thickly lain,* that in the hurry to *hang those for whose hanging they were employed, you handsomely rewarded them with a halter, and an executioner to increase the gift;*" and, what their shame, what their indignation, when they see, in the reports delivered to your committee, that there were *two spies*, taking down the words from his lips, and conveying them to the Secretary of State, and that he thought it worth while to write with his own hand on the back of one of these reports!

*Par. 70.* The House is the guardian of the peace and confidence, as well as of the purse of the kingdom; to the House these petitioners appeal for the adoption of such measures as shall protect them against such wrongs and such perils for the future; and your committee, in laying before the House the results of the inquiry committed to them, have endeavoured to show the nature and extent of those wrongs and those perils, leaving it to the wisdom of the House to suggest, and to their justice to apply, those remedies which the case may appear to them to demand.

#### BANK MEETING.

A general Court of the proprietors of the Bank of England was held on the 13. instant, on especial affairs relating to the charter, Mr. Raikes, the governor, in the chair.

The minutes of the proceedings at the last Court having been read,

The GOVERNOR stated that the Court had been called in order to lay before it a correspondence between the Court of Directors and his Majesty's Government,

since the last Court day, relative to certain alterations which had been made in the House of Commons, with the assent of Ministers, in the Bank charter Bill, and the withdrawal of other parts of the bill. The hon. gentleman then read the correspondence, which related to matters already fully discussed in the House of Commons, and to the remonstrances made by the Court of Directors to Lord Althorp as to some of the amendments.

Mr. LLOYD said he little expected that it would have been the governor's duty again to assemble that Court to consult on the renewal of the Bank charter, for he had considered that all the points relating to that subject had been finally decided—(hear, hear)—but still less did he expect such a violation of a positive engagement as had now been committed, and of which he had as great a right to complain as of the injustice of the act itself. (Hear). In the original proposition of Lord Althorp upon the renewal of the charter, the main and striking feature was that the Bank should have continued to them exclusive privileges as they then existed, and accompanying that were some subsidiary propositions, and for those together, jointly and severally, the Bank was urged, and at last induced, to make to the Government a very large concession. Of those subsidiary points there were two of great importance—first, the engagement on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make Bank of England notes a legal tender; and secondly, that a bill should be immediately brought in to regulate country bankers, the provisions of which were to be such as to hold out an inducement to the establishment of joint-stock banks, that would not issue their own notes. The first of those engagements had only been partially fulfilled; he admitted that among well-informed men a very great difference of opinion might exist as to the propriety of making Bank of England notes a legal tender: but by a happy infelicity the measure had been so contrived that it would expose the Bank to the inconveniences of both the systems, while it

would not secure to them the benefits from either. Still the engagement if it had been fulfilled, would have been a benefit to the Bank, and it was one of the advantages which had been held out to induce them to accede to the propositions of Ministers.—They had, therefore, great right to complain that that part of the bargain had been but partially fulfilled. But not only had it been imperfectly fulfilled, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his official character, standing in front of the Treasury benches, had declared that that clause formed no part of his bargain with the Bank. Now it was important to that community (the Bank proprietors), and to the people of England, that they should fully understand what was the view which the Chancellor of the Exchequer took as to the nature of a public bargain—(hear, hear)—and for that purpose he (Mr. Lloyd) would read a part of Lord Althorp's letter. The honourable proprietor read that part of his lordship's letter referring to this part of the subject, in which his lordship said, that after considering the subject, and conferring with his colleagues, his Majesty's Government had directed him to make the following proposals, the third of which was, that Bank of England notes should be made a legal tender, excepting at the Bank of England or any of its branches; that his Majesty's Government had directed him (Lord Althorp) to call the attention of the directors to the advantages which the different propositions would confer on the Bank, tending as they would to the extension of the circulation of its own notes, and that in consequence his Majesty's Government had a right to expect considerable advantages from the Bank in return. The hon. proprietor then said, that in the face of those propositions, and of that letter, Lord Althorp said, that making Bank notes a legal tender formed no part of his bargain. (Hear). It was well known in the city of London, and among all mercantile men, bargains were held in the highest respect, and were considered inviolable; and yet this was the way Lord Althorp viewed the subject. That

point required no further comment. He would now proceed to the next point of the bargain, which was, that a bill should be introduced to revive the country banks, and to hold out an inducement to the establishment of joint-stock banks, who would not issue their own notes. He knew not whether the strict letter of that part of the bargain had been fulfilled or not. Lord Althorp considered that he had discharged his part of the bargain, and certainly a bill had been introduced respecting it, but it had been departed from, and the bill had in it such various absurdities and incongruities, that it was not a matter of wonder that a minister should be anxious to withdraw from it. The result, however, was, that this court had been deprived of one portion of a bargain, by which they were induced to make large concessions. That, therefore, was the second instance in which the bargain had not been fulfilled. (Hear). How could the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with any degree of justice, state that he felt himself obliged, by the strength of public opinion in the House of Commons, to submit to the hard necessity of abandoning that which he had promised, or rather sold, to the Bank? (Hear, hear). Such a consideration, he should have thought, would have made that noble Lord peculiarly jealous in securing to the Bank those exclusive privileges on the granting of which rested the main foundation of the Bank. That part, however, of the exclusive privilege of the Bank of England, that no stock bank established within a certain distance of London was to be taken from them—in this the Chancellor of the Exchequer departed from a clear agreement, as had been shown from his own letters. Now, he believed, the rule laid down on interpreting a contract was, that it was binding on the party making it, in the sense in which that party understood it. That he believed to be an established principle, and he would venture to say, that no honest man, unless, indeed, it was his Majesty's Ministers, would depart from it. (Hear). The Chancellor of the Exchequer acknow-

ledged that he understood, as the Bank had understood, that one of their privileges was protection from the rival action of joint-stock banks in London and its neighbourhood. That noble Lord had admitted that such was his understanding; viz. that the privilege had been sold to the Bank for a pecuniary consideration; yet he now stated that he thought it right no longer to adhere to that part of the bargain, and said that he would not allow the Bank to retain it. On what grounds did the noble Lord support such conduct? Why, he stated that doubts having been raised, as might be upon every subject upon that point, he had submitted the case to the law officers of the crown, who had given it as their opinion that it formed no part of the privilege to the Bank formerly, and therefore it ought not to do so now. When, he would ask, was the case submitted, and the opinion of the law-officers taken upon it? He had asked whether the directors had seen it, and had been told they had not. Was that just—was it any more than just, that they should have been put in possession of that case and opinion? (Hear). And as it was for the interpretation of a supposed doubt, he would ask whether the Bank had not a right to have been heard, to explain by its own law-officers their interpretation of the contract. No such thing was done, and all the notice the Bank had upon the subject was the sending of a clause at twelve o'clock, demanding an answer with respect to it at three o'clock. Such a proceeding, in his opinion, was unreasonable, unjust, and unconstitutional. (Hear). It appeared to him that Ministers were determined to use the language, "Give me your watch and your purse—in deeds of this nature delays are dangerous—give me them directly, or I will take your life. (Hear, hear). What was it that they had stated? We admit that we agreed to sell you certain privileges, but we are determined, our legal advisers having given us their opinion that you had them not before, to take some of them from you; we now demand your immediate acquiescence in them; Parliament is draw-

ing to a close; and if you do not instantly accede, the session will be ended, the whole arrangement will go for nothing, and your situation in the country will be a rather unpleasant one." In his opinion, eternal shame was the portion of a government who could adopt and sanction such a course. It was not that which, in the history of the country, that the Bank had a right to expect, and it would justify them in stating, that for fidelity in engagements they must cast back a longing, lingering look, to by-gone times. (Loud cheers). He felt that he ought to apologize for having detained the court so long in uttering sentiments which he could not but feel ought to actuate the breast of every man who was anxious to keep up his own dignity, and the important interests of his country. (Hear, hear). Upon a former occasion, he had urged the court to adopt the proposition of Ministers, upon the ground that the final and immediate settlement of this important question was of the last and greatest importance to the country. He felt the necessity for it in a tenfold degree at the present moment; and he would appeal to all present, if it was not notorious, that a conviction that the question was settled, had produced an altered tone in the public mind, and a new range of prices had been established on that understanding. (Hear). If such was the case, and he defied denial, what frightful consequences would not result from having the subject re-opened, and the whole matter again set afloat? (Hear, hear, hear). Yet with all the evils he had pointed out attending it, with all its injustice to the community, his Majesty's Government had periled it. It was for that court to act as it thought best to secure its own rights and privileges; but as he thought it would be better to accede to the proposition of Ministers, rather than to place the public welfare in jeopardy, he should hold up his hand in favour of that proposition, at the same time strongly protesting against the vacillation of purpose that had now become so characteristic of the present Government, and their departure from solemn contracts, of

which the court had so lamentable a display that day. The worthy proprietor, after paying a high compliment to the late governor, and regretting his absence, or he was sure he would have supported him in the views which he took, concluded by submitting the following resolutions for the adoption of the court:

"First—That this court feels itself bound, in justice to its own character, to protest against the treatment it has experienced at the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has, in the opinion of this court, most improperly and unjustly departed from the terms of his own proposition; and after having engaged to grant certain privileges to the Bank, on consideration of stipulated pecuniary concessions, has determined to withhold from the Bank some of the most important of those privileges, without making a corresponding statement in the pecuniary consideration.

"Secondly—That although this course of procedure fully satisfied the Bank in rejecting the arrangement, this court, considering the extensive injury to the public interest that might be the result, and considering that a new range of prices had been made upon the conviction that the question was settled, is unwilling to assert its undoubted rights, and authorises the court of directors to submit to the arrangement.

"Thirdly—That the governor and deputy governor should wait on the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the resolutions, and that the papers that had been that day read should be printed, for the use of the Court of Proprietors."

Mr. SMITH said he would second the motion, in order to show that they were ready to sacrifice, at what they thought the shrine of public interest, their own interests and their own private feelings.

Mr. YOUNG moved a resolution to the effect that it was the opinion of the court that the renewal of the Bank charter should be rejected, unless upon the terms of the letter of the Chancellor

of the Exchequer, of the 2. of May, 1833.

Mr. WINTER concurred in every word that had been uttered with reference to the conduct of the Government towards them. It was for the public benefit that they should all have time to consider of the subject, and he should therefore propose that the meeting adjourn to this day week.

After a short discussion, Mr. Young withdrew his amendment, and the first resolution was put and carried.

The GOVERNOR then proceeded to put the second resolution, but was interrupted by Mr. Blackburn; and it was ultimately resolved that the Court should adjourn till Friday.

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I BEG my readers to pay attention to the following article from the *Morning Chronicle*, which is a defence of the grant of *sixty thousand* a year, out of the public taxes, towards the expense of the spy-police system; and also to the letter of Mr. ROGERS, which the *Chronicle* has not yet published. I have no time this week for any comment on the matter. Mr. ROGERS is a gentleman of great experience in parochial matters; and whose judgment with respect to the matter of his letter, is worth more than that of all the *doctrinaires* in the world.

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(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 9. inst.)

IN a committee on the Metropolitan Police Acts, Mr. Spring Rice moved a resolution, that 60,000*l.* yearly be granted out of the consolidated fund in aid of the metropolitan police-rate. This grant was objected to, on the ground that every town should support its own police. Lord Althorp, however, truly observed, that the metropolitan police was in some measure a general police. "The metropolis," his Lordship observed, "differed from other towns, because the police of the metropolis was important to that of other towns, which was a reason that they and the country should contribute to the ex-

"pense of the metropolitan police. That police was, besides, often sent into the country, and employed there as well as in London."

The police of the metropolis is under the command of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and is, in truth, a *political* as well as local police. For political purposes, large bodies of the police are occasionally drawn from the various parishes comprehended under the Metropolitan Police Act to the Court or the Houses of Parliament. It would not be more reasonable to throw the charges of the regiments of Guards of the metropolis, because they do duty there, than to throw the expense of a police force, applicable to national purposes, on the metropolis. What, for instance, have the inhabitants of Greenwich locally to do with St. James's, or the neighbourhood of the Parliament? Yet the parishes of Greenwich and Deptford are at present obliged to pay for a police for the purpose of preserving order in Westminster during periods of excitement.

One great cause of the unpopularity of the police with the householders is, the grievous addition made to their burdens by that force, especially in the poorer parishes. The loss of patronage to parish boards, and the necessity of pensioning many of the old watchmen, who could not be turned off to starve, whereby a double burden was imposed, in some parishes, might, no doubt, have something to do with the unpopularity. But we are satisfied that the main cause is the additional burden. For it is impossible to compare the new police with the old system, without being struck with the great superiority of the former. Justice will, ere long, be done to the new police. It will be admitted, that no system can be so perfect, as to exclude the influence of the ordinary infirmities of our nature, and that the errors of individuals prove nothing in the question between one system and another. Is the security of the metropolis better provided for than it was? Is order better enforced? *He must be a bold man, indeed, who answers these questions in the negative.*

To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

SIR,—In your paper of Friday last, I observed one more article in favour of the half-Tory half-Whig doctrinarian system of police. In this article you at least admit, that which we Radicals have always asserted, namely, that the metropolitan police is a political body, applicable to, and used for, political purposes; and you take care that no expression of yours shall indicate your disapproval of such an employment for such a body.

This, then, is the English version of that *gendarmerie*, the endurance of which for so many years made the French people the scorn of Englishmen. Our Gallic neighbours wiped away the reproach at the commencement of their first revolution. The return of the despotic principle again fixed it on them: again they threw it off: and now it is attempted to be fixed upon Englishmen, while the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* sanctifies and vindicates its adoption.

When, in August 1829, the commissioners of police invited me to a consultation, preparatory to the introduction of their disguised spies into the parish of which I happened to be warden, Col. Rowan declared to me his desire to assimilate the police here as much as possible to the police of Paris, which he said was, for its perfection, the admiration of all Europe: and, when the indignation which rose in my countenance, showed him that he had let out too much, he very adroitly exclaimed,

"But then the French fellows don't mind being knocked about." Sir, within even months from that day, the French fellows knocked the *gendarmerie* about; and perhaps it would have been wiser for the English imitators of the Bourbon-police to have then given up their experiment, and not have waited for the recent exposure by the Calthorpe-street jury, and the now coming exposure of the Popay scoundrelism, to provoke one universal burst of indignation from honest English fellows against the spy system and the abettors of that system.

But I come to the main purpose of my letter. You say: It is impossible

to compare the new with the old system of police, without being struck with the superiority of the new: and further, you say, that he must be a bold man who denies that the security of the metropolis is better provided for than it was.

You do not explain what you mean by superiority. If you mean superior expense, I freely grant that its superiority is very great indeed; if you mean superior brutality, I am not inclined to question it; but if you mean that the new police is of superior advantage to the residents in those parishes (and there were many such), in which there were local day street-keepers, I deny it altogether; for a long residence in one such parish convinces me of the superiority of the old system at from one-half to two-thirds of the expense of the new. Again, you say, "Security of the metropolis." If you mean from foreign invasion, or from rebellion, I have nothing to say, except that I thought that the great end for which police was established, was the security of property; and I am perfectly satisfied, that in my neighbourhood property is far less secure than under the old system; formerly at any time of the day or night we could call in a known officer in three minutes, now no one knows where to find a policeman unless he goes to the station-house, giving the intervening time for the escape of the thief.

But the old police had an advantage which the new has not, or can ever have, without producing great evil—I mean that discretionary power of removing annoyances, and of preserving the peace in minor matters, hardly cognizable by the law. This discretionary power was safely exercised by the old day street-keeper, because he acted under the eyes of the housekeepers, who knew him well, and who were at once his security and a check on his conduct. The ingenious theorists, who write so fluently about every thing, and know so little of that which they write about, may make themselves merry about the "Charlies" and the "Charley system," but they may depend upon it, that the only healthful and effective, as

well as least expensive protection for property, is a local police, if that must be the name, formed indeed on general principles, but immediately paid by and accountable to the housekeepers of the district which it watches.

I am, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
GEO. ROGERS.

58, High-street, St. Giles's,  
Aug. 12, 1833.

*From the LONDON GAZETTE,*

FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1833.

**BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.**

COLLIER, J. J., Manchester, calico-priuter.

**BANKRUPTS.**

BIRKS, T., Marlborough-road, Chelsea, tallow melter.

BRIDGER, G., British Hotel, Jermyn-street, Piccadilly, hotel-keeper.

DANCE, William, Redditch, Worcestershire, maltster.

DAVIS, J., Birmingham, victualler.

DURBAN, J., Bristol, cheese-factor.

LOCKETT, J. G. and J., Manchester, calico-printers.

MURPHY, J., Liverpool, builder.

PALMER, W., London-wall, stationer.

WELMAN, C., Bridport, Dorsetshire, linendraper.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1833.

**BANKRUPTS.**

BARNETT, J., and J. Devey, Wolverhampton, factors.

EMANUEL, H., S., and E., Leman-street, Goodman's-fields, furriers and cap-makers.

ENGLISH, H., Compton-passage, Compton-street, Clerkenwell, iron-founder.

HOWARTH, H., Greave, Rochdale, Lancashire, coal-dealer.

JONES, J., Chippenham, Wiltshire, grocer.

LAMBERT, J., Manchester, distiller and merchant.

MAGGS, S. and J., Cheltenham, mercers.

PRING, J., St. Georges, Gloucestershire, and St. Philip and St. Jacob, Bristol, dealers.

PUTTOCK, R., Billingshurst, Sussex, grocer.

ROBERTS, J., and F. Woolfe, West-street, Gravesend, cheesemongers.

ROGERS, H. T., Halifax, printer and book-seller.

WATLING, J., Southtown, otherwise Little Yarmouth, merchant.

WESTON, J., Stoke-upon-Trent, apothecary.

**LONDON MARKETS.**

**MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE**, Aug. 12.—The supplies this morning from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, were very limited, and about a third of the arrivals consisted of *new* Wheat, principally from Essex. The generality of the samples were but of middling quality, and certainly inferior to those exhibited at a similar period last year. One or two selected parcels of White Essex, realized 62s. and 63s.; and a very fine lot of red, 61s.; but the runs did not exceed in value 59s. to 60s. The trade ruled heavy, and last Monday's quotations were barely maintained. In bonded Corn nothing doing.

Barley met with little attention, and Monday's prices were with difficulty obtained.

Malt dull, and nominally unaltered in price.

Oats, although in short supply, yet experienced a heavy sale, at the currency of this day se'nights.

Old Beans proving scarce, Monday's quotations were supported.

New white Peas were full 2s. per qr. lower; in grey or maple little doing, and prices without variation.

Flour, dull sale, at 48s. to 50s.

Wheat .....	58s. to 63s.
Rye .....	30s. to 32s.
Barley .....	24s. to 26s.
— fine .....	26s. to 30s.
Peas, White .....	31s. to 34s.
— Boilers .....	40s. to 48s.
— Grey .....	30s. to 35s.
Beans, Small .....	—s. to —s.
— Tick .....	30s. to 32s.
Oats, Potato .....	23s. to 26s.
— Feed .....	16s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack .....	50s. to 52s.

**PROVISIONS.**

Pork, India, new .. —s. to 110s.

— Mess, new .. 60s. to 62s. 6d. per磅.

Butter, Belfast .. —s. to —s. per cwt.

— Carlow .. —s. to —s.

— Cork .. 75s. to 76s.

— Limerick .. 75s. to 76s.

— Waterford .. 72s. to 75s.

— Dublin .. —s. to —s.

**SMITHFIELD, August 12.**

This day's supply of Beasts was rather great; the supply of Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, moderately good; of Porkers but limited. Trade was, throughout, exceedingly dull. With Beef and Mutton at a depression of 2d. per stone; with Lamb, Veal, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

About two-fifths of the Beasts were short-horns, chiefly from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire; the remaining three-fifths about equal numbers of Devons, Scots, and Welsh runs, Herefords, and Irish Beasts, with about 100 lusty Town's-end Cows, a few Norfolk

omebreds, &c. The Scots and homebreds chiefly from Norfolk, with a few from Essex and Suffolk; the Town's-end Cows from the London marshes; the Devons, Herefords, Welsh runts, Irish Beasts, &c., from our different northern, western, and midland grazing districts. Not more than thirty of the beasts, mostly runts and Devons, came over the metropolitan bridges.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about an eighth South Downs; and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, and polled Norfolks; with a few old Lincolns, horned Norfolks and Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

At least four-fifths of the Lambs consisted of about equal numbers of South Downs and Leicester half-breds; chiefly of the Downish cross; the remaining fifth of Dorsets, with a few Kentish half-breds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, August 16.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull, at the prices of Monday.

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